



Daily Report

East Europe

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Berisha News Conference Examines 1994, 1995

LD2812202294 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1900
GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A balance sheet of attainments of 1994 and the objectives of the next year were in the focus of the press conference the Albanian President Sali Berisha held today.

This was the year of the consolidation of democracy, of the market economy, and of the role of Albania in the international arena, Berisha said. He mentioned then the meetings and activities on European and regional level. The consolidation of democracy and the market economy, he said, has passed through many difficulties due to the lack of infrastructure and the overused technology which resulted in high level of unemployment.

But Albania has important indexes proving growth [word indistinct] increase by 8 percent of the general output, or the decrease [as heard] of inflation under the levels foreseen by the IMF. The incomes from the customs have increased with more than 50 percent, the savings with 70 to 80 percent and the foreign investments are three times higher than in 1993.

Berisha then pointed out the achievements in the legislative field by laying stress on the importance of the approval of some laws by the parliament. But there are weak points, he said, in their implementation.

Speaking about the referendum for the approval of the draft Constitution of Albania, Berisha said it was an important test that testified to the consolidation of democracy and the respecting of the free vote. Berisha expressed his objections to some circles that try to present the no word to the draft Constitution as a triumph of return of to Enverism [as heard].

The main objectives of 1995 for Berisha are the massive privatization, the distribution of bonds, the full integration of Albania with European structures in the field of laws, the drafting of the new Constitution, and the extension of free initiative in economy.

Berisha then gave answer to the questions addressed to him by journalists.

Official on Corruption, Government Limitations

AU2812173194 Tirana LAJMI I DITES in Albanian
13 Dec 94 p 1

[Interview with Blerim Cela, chairman of the State Control Service, by Sokol Ollidashi; place and date not given: "Corruption is Evident, But Also Exaggerated"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Ollidashi] In its analysis of the outcome of the referendum, the Democratic Party [PD] said corruption was one of the things that had gone against it. In this connection, the institution that you head is obviously going to grow in importance. What do you have say to say on this score?

[Cela] It is true that corruption was one of the things that negatively affected the outcome of the referendum, but everyone should know that according to the law, it is not the task of the State Control Service to combat corruption. My organization, through its financial auditing, combats infringements of the law, theft, misappropriation of public property, and other activities behind which corruption lurks. A look at the facts and figures I reported in the legislature two weeks ago should convince anyone that the State Control Service has done its best to fulfill its duties.

Nevertheless, as I stressed in my report, there are many cases of unlawful activities to which no solution has been found, despite the fact that we have forwarded the details to the Prosecutor's Office. There are also hundreds of other cases where we have proposed that administrative disciplinary measures be taken to sack high officials, but nothing has been done by the ministries, district councils, central banks, institutions, and so forth. The trouble is that our organization does not have the power to take disciplinary measures—only to propose them. I believe that this is a serious flaw in the law, and one which tarnishes the work done by the State Control Service.

In order to remedy this shortcoming, and looking at practices in other countries, we have put together a draft law that has been signed by thirty PD deputies and will be submitted to the legislature. If this law is passed, I think it will make our operation more efficient because corrupt and incapable employees will then be dismissed by decision of the State Control Service and will not find the protection of the ministries or the heads of other departments and bodies.

It is a big mistake to think that corruption will be tackled by the State Control Service, because the prime answer to corruption lies in having well-defined laws and putting honest people into top positions and making them accountable for their work. What is needed is strict, day-to-day monitoring control by the state of all enterprises and institutions; regular investigations into the financial auditing carried out by enterprises, district municipalities, and ministries; and, finally, the investigations carried out by SHIK [National Intelligence Service] and the criminal police.

The State Control Service can do nothing about the hospital doorman who does not let you in to see your sick relative unless you pay him something, the traffic policeman who makes drivers pay excessive fines for trumped-up offenses, the finance policeman or customs official who creates problems unless you give him extra money, the employees who do not do their job properly unless you grease their palms, the judge who shuts an important case and opens an unimportant one if you line his pocket, the doctor who does not operate or treat you unless you pay him, or the high official who does not serve you unless you bribe him. We are a documentation control body, and not an investigatory one capable of

catching wrongdoers in the act. The examples of our proposals being drawn out by the district prosecutor's offices and of civil servants not being dismissed for neglect of duty as we have requested indicate how lackluster is the fight being waged against corruption by officials who disregard our proposals. We have demanded that such officials be dismissed, but only a few of them have been. Legal authority and commitment are needed to fight corruption. I do emphasize, however, that the degree of corruption is exaggerated, and that it is presented as having far greater proportions than it actually has.

[Olldashi] Do you have any evidence of corruption among the ministers who have been dismissed?

[Cela] If I had such evidence I would have had charges brought against them, but their activities have not yet been investigated. The public will be informed about the results of our investigations in due course.

[Olldashi] From what you know, how high up the ladder does corruption go?

[Cela] Up to the level of district chairmen and heads of central departments in the ministries. The results of our latest inquiries should be made public soon.

[Olldashi] How well do you cooperate with other government agencies?

[Cela] Very well. In fact, we have had good results working with SHIK, the financial police, and the General Customs Directorate. We need closer cooperation with the Prosecutor's Office, the courts, the criminal police and the Justice Ministry.

[Olldashi] Some time ago, several newspapers said that the chairman of the State Control Service should be a member of one of the opposition parties, because a chairman from the ruling party could not carry out these duties properly. What would be your comment on this; and do you think that being a PD member is any obstacle to your work?

[Cela] In some countries, such as Austria, the chairman of the state control body belongs to the opposition, but in most other countries, he belongs to the ruling party. My opinion is that the chairman of the State Control Service must implement the law and must be supported by the president and deputies. As for the opposition, whatever you do they never praise it.

Videnov Elected Parliamentary Faction Chairman

AU2812205294 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] At the meeting of the Supreme Council and parliamentary faction of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], Zhan Videnov was elected chairman of the BSP parliamentary faction. Svetoslav Shivarov and Stefan Gaytandzhiev were elected deputy chairmen.

Rules on cooperation in implementing the government program have been adopted. The rules will be discussed in January. According to the participants in the meeting, President Zhelev is expected to convene the first session of the 37th National Assembly on 9 January.

SDS Coordinating Council Elects Leadership

AU2912103494 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 29 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] This morning Ivan Kostov was elected chairman of the National Coordinating Council [NCC] of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces]. In the first round of voting, Kostov received nine votes, while Aleksandur Yordanov and Vasil Mikhaylov received one each.

Petur Stoyanov and Yordan Sokolov withdrew their candidatures at the start of the meeting.

In the second round, Ivan Kostov obtained the required 11 votes, while Vasil Mikhaylov received one vote. Aleksandur Yordanov declined to take part in the second round.

Our reporter Antoaneta Puncheva cites information received from Asen Agov to the effect that the Bulgarian Democratic Forum, the Union of the Repressed, and the Republican Party abstained during the voting, while the "Salvation" Christian Union had no representative present.

Khristo Biserov was elected new NCC chief secretary with 12 votes, with the Federation of Students Associations abstaining.

Vasil Gotsev, who at the moment belongs to no party, is the new NCC deputy chairman responsible for foreign policy. The second deputy chairman is Social Democrat Krum Slavov.

BSDP To Participate in BSO/DAR Talks

AU2812180494 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The executive bureau of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP] has decided that the party should take part in eventual talks between the Democratic Alternative for the Republic [DAR] and the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], if the coalition partners in DAR agree to hold such talks.

The Alternative Social Liberal Party will propose that DAR leaders respond positively to Zhan Videnov's invitation to begin talks between representatives of the DAR and the BSP.

BSP, Alliance Leaderships Meet, Exchange Views

AU2812180694 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] A meeting between the leaderships of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the Patriotic Alliance took place on 28 December. Opinions have been exchanged on the political issues in the country following the elections, on the need to make further efforts to achieve a national consensus on the basic issues of the transition in Bulgaria, and on the possibility of forming a coalition cabinet with extraparlimentary groups.

No Technical Problems for Belene Nuclear Project

AU2812191694 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Yanko Yanev, chairman of the Committee on the Peaceful Use of Nuclear Energy, has reported on the committee's activities in 1994. At a press conference today he reported that all six reactors of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant are operating together, for first time in the plant's existence. According to Yanev, no technical problems could prevent the use of the Belene project as a nuclear power plant. However, the National Electricity Company must request a license for the continuation of the construction.

Commissions Draw Conclusions From Chechnya

LD2812105794 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In Prague, members of the Czech Parliament Foreign Affairs and Defense and Security Committee, the parliamentary delegation to the Council of Europe, and Foreign and Defense Ministries' representatives discussed the pressing situation in Chechnya.

Jiri Payne, chairman of the parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee has summed up the conclusions of the debate for Czech radio.

[Begin Payne recording] The situation is, indeed, pressing. If all the arguments and circumstances that were quoted, including the past analogies with the situation in Afghanistan or Bosnia, were to be summed up, it could be concluded that what is happening is an explosion of certain tensions whose nature goes deep into history.

This conflict has been presented to a certain extent as a religious conflict. It is well known that Chechen President Dudayev has been calling for a holy war and that he has been imparting religious interpretation to this conflict.

The first lesson we are drawing from this is that the defense of state integrity cannot be a reason for a state to employ the means used in Chechnya.

Second, it is transpiring that the Russian Federation cannot guarantee the validity of its legal code and, in

particular, of the constitutional law—the Constitution of the Russian Federation—which guarantees certain human rights. It is transpiring that these can neither be guaranteed in the entire territory nor for all of the citizens of the Russian Federation. This is the conclusion which, according to the outcome of the debate, our deputies will probably submit at the Council of Europe deliberations. [end recording]

Inflation, Unemployment Figures Projected

LD2812173694 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] It is expected that inflation in the Czech Republic should not exceed 10 percent this year. Over the first 11 months of this year, consumer prices grew by 9.8 percent. A more precise estimate currently released says that the average annual inflation rate for 1994 will be 10 percent. This conforms with the government's target for this year.

[The station adds the following during its 1500 GMT newscast: "It is expected that the unemployment rate in the Czech Republic will be about 3.5 percent at the end of this year. This would be comparable to the level at the end of last year. This information was released by the Czech Statistical Office. The unemployment rate was 3.1 percent in November, and it was the seventh month in succession when it was stable. The lowest unemployment was recorded in Prague. The highest unemployment was in the districts of Novy Jicin, Karvina, Bruntal, Louny, and Prerov."]

Prime Minister Outlines Forthcoming Tasks

*LD2812215394 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 28 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A tripartite [government, trade unions, employers] working meeting started today in the presence of Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, deputy prime ministers, representatives of the Association of the Employers Unions, and Alojz Englis, president of the Confederation of Trade Unions in Slovakia. The meeting continued in the evening. Topical problems were discussed. Our colleague Michal Tvarozek interviewed Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and Michal Lach, chairman of the Association of the Employers Unions in Slovakia.

[Begin recording] [Meciar] [passage omitted] We have agreed that, as part of the transparency of privatization, every association, whether of trade unions or employers, will delegate one consultant to a relevant minister. The objective is to inform the unions and the employers about everything the government is working on and to make them participate in solving specific problems. What we are doing now, between the holidays, should form a base and make up for what we were unable to do in 1994—prepare for 1995.

[Tvarozek] Will you also meet the other members of the tripartite?

[Meciar] It has been agreed that we will meet trade unionists on 6 January and employers on 7 January. By 12 January, we will hand over the government's policy

statement. This will be followed by a three- or four-day meeting with all tripartite members, in the presence of experts and bankers, on the preparation of (?guidelines) for economic policy in 1995 and 1996. We will spend all January on drafting programs of development trends and defining who is individually responsible for the results.

[Tvarozek] The economic ministers are also present at this meeting.

[Meciar] Every minister is shadowed. For example, the minister responsible for construction is shadowed by the Union of Builders. [passage omitted] In this way, every association is able to promote its own view. I am very pleased to say that the views, in more than 90 percent of cases, are similar. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Minister Says Extent of Privatization Unchanged

*LD2912094994 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 0600 GMT 29 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] The starting date for the preliminary round of the second wave of coupon privatization has not yet been set. This transpires from the interview granted by Peter Bisak, minister for the administration and privatization of national property, to the second edition of the Aktuality television program.

According to Bisak, the extent of the coupon privatization offer should be roughly the same as that prepared by the Moravcik Cabinet. From its own portfolio, the National Property Fund will provide property to a total value of 10 billion korunas, Bisak said.

Horn Views Party Unity, Tensions, Neighbors

AU2812171694 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 24 Dec 94 pp 1,3

[Interview with Prime Minister Gyula Horn by Lorinc Szendrei in Budapest; date not given: "Europe's Gates, Half Way There—Christmas Interview With Prime Minister Gyula Horn"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Szendrei] People are looking at their wallets with even bigger concerns than usual before this coming Christmas. Looking at the country's wallet, what assessment can you make?

[Horn] I am certainly happy that production has started to increase, contrary to all predictions. The gross national product's increase is expected to be at around 3.5 percent. Investments are expanding, the stagnation of economic activities has stopped, and it is a major challenge for us that all this has happened in an overheated state of the economy. The most important financial indicators have not improved. I am primarily thinking of the current account balance. [passage omitted] From the point of view of preserving the country's solvency and creditworthiness, it is very important that I do not know of any international financial institutions or even foreign governments that would not insist that we stabilize our financial situation. [passage omitted]

[Szendrei] Privatization is one means of boosting the economy. You said that many things anger you in the area of privatization.

[Horn] This is true. I receive many reports. I have a duty to have these investigated. I received such reports on both the privatization of the HungarHotels hotel chain and on the planned sale of the Hirlapkiado [publishing house]. [passage omitted]

[Szendrei] Are you not worried that the foreign investors will be frightened off?

[Horn] I am not worried. We have two sides here, namely the Hungarian state and the prospective buyer. It is obvious that, before selling part of its assets, everywhere in the world a state would make careful assessments to make the best possible deal for itself.

[Szendrei] What principles can the foreigners who are still interested in Hungarian privatization adhere to?

[Horn] We decided that the the revenue of major public utilities—energy and gas producing and supplying enterprises—that was prescribed in the 1995 budget will have to be ensured. Cash revenue is more important than any other element, but it is not the most important factor. It is far, far more important what kind of modernization the new owner undertakes to implement and on what conditions it can guarantee the preservation of work places—for the failure of which it can be punished. This is the essence of the new privatization concept. I am not

at all in favor of now hastily selling everything without taking these conditions into consideration. [passage omitted]

[Szendrei] We are past a railway strike and other groups of society have also come close to the limits of tolerance. Tensions can be seen among the teachers, the miners, the firefighters, and many other groups. What does the government wish to do against the increase of social dissatisfactions and what can it do?

[Horn] The council of the Socialist International recently held its session in Budapest where a decision was accepted to recommend the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] as a full member to the congress. At the meeting, the general view was that many more strikes are called against left-wing, socialist, and social democratic governments than against conservative ones. The employees believe that a left-wing government would yield more easily to a strike.

[Szendrei] Is this not true?

[Horn] The Hungarian Government might be unusual in the sense that we do not yield to unjustified and unacceptable pressure. At all past talks, we went to the final limits of compromises. This applies to the railway workers and others, too. We have to draw a line. If we overstep this, then everything will fail and we will not be able to restore the financial and economic balance. If we succumb in one area, then others will justifiably expect us to do the same for them. [passage omitted]

[Szendrei] You are also chairman of the MSZP. We can see various tendencies and lines within this party. In your view, how united is this party?

[Horn] The MSZP is united. At the same time, since its establishment, various views have existed in the party and I do not at all consider this to be something negative. This is what makes our party what it is. The question is how to settle internal conflicts when they arise. We have not yet had to expel anyone, we did not have to use this tool. None of the party's leading bodies bring compulsory decisions. We only formulate recommendations. Therefore, the party's internal life is indeed democratic. [passage omitted]

[Szendrei] Is it true to say that, according to the Hungarian Government's concept, we take the neighbors' interests into consideration but we also do all we can for Hungary's earliest possible accession to NATO and the European Union [EU]?

[Horn] If anyone asked me about my biggest wish or goal, I would say it is getting this country into the European organizations of integration as soon as possible. This is my and the government's main goal. Everything has to be subordinated to this, even the process of domestic transformation.

[Szendrei] Does this mean that the debate on whether we should join first or make the country compatible for joining is over?

[Horn] We can no longer have debates. The accession will be a political decision, as it was in the case of the southern countries. I very much hope that Hungary will be admitted first. However, before this is done, the EU will assess Hungary's situation. I asked Paris and the Germans—the two powers on whose cooperation European stability rests—that rather than waiting until the inter-governmental talks and the decision on the beginning of the negotiations until 1996, a decision should be made on the timing of the negotiations already now, in 1995. This would mean a lot for us in view of our domestic preparations and the inflow of foreign capital. [passage omitted]

[Szendrei] Our relations with the neighboring countries is also determined by another, not less important element in addition to accession to Europe. Some of the representatives of Hungarians living beyond the border reacted with much concern to your entering government. To what extent have you managed to iron out the differences of views? What measures is the government planning to help the Hungarians beyond the border?

[Horn] First of all, I would emphasize that only certain representatives, rather than all Hungarians, have expressed their concern. These were Miklos Duray [chairman of Coexistence in Slovakia] and [Romanian Presbyterian Bishop] Laszlo Tokes, rather than the organizations. Our foreign minister has been holding a continuous dialogue with the organizations of the Hungarians beyond the border, and I have also met many leaders. There are no indications of the government withdrawing any kind of support. We will not set up an order, we do not have a favorite or less favored organization over the border that requires support. We have stated firmly that we would represent the interests of the Hungarians at both international and bilateral talks. This is what happened when I met Romanian President Iliescu at the security conference in Budapest, or earlier when I met Slovak leaders in August. Asserting the rights of the Hungarians was in the focus of our talks. I do not dispute, of course, that our style is different from that of the previous government. We say that the problems have to be solved within the framework of bilateral relations. I ask those who formulated the various criticisms if the situation of the Hungarians over the border has improved in the previous four years. This is the question if we want to see how successful the politics were. I do not think that any [Hungarian] organization over the border would claim that the situation of the Hungarians has improved in the previous four years. However, we cannot expect miracles from the basic treaties, either. I add that I find it particularly important to help the integration efforts of the neighboring countries. We can only support Romania's intention if it wants to become a member of NATO. We will also support Russia—although it is not our neighbor—if the same question arises in connection with its membership in the Council of Europe. We have to have confidence in these countries because this can contribute to changes there. The same applies to Slovakia and to all other

neighboring countries. At the same time, I note that it is in the vital interest of these countries not to be able to be criticized for their domestic and national policy if they wish to become members of the European organizations. [passage omitted]

MDF Bidding Time; Debt Repayment Issue

LD2812210494 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ivan Szabo, leader of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] parliamentary group of deputies, has said at the party's year-end news briefing that the government has been idle since it took office seven months ago. Sandor Kovacs, the party's economic director, said that the MDF will repay its approximately 450 million forints debt next year. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] According to MDF Chairman Lajos Fur, it is a waste of time to repeatedly attack the government head on which has a 72 percent majority in parliament. The MDF's time will come at the 1998 elections. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile the financial situation of the party is very difficult. The MDF declared itself insolvent a few weeks ago. It has a debt of approximately 450 million forints.

[Begin Kovacs recording] The party's resources are more or less sufficient to repay what it owes to its small creditors, but certainly not the large creditors—which include state bodies or organizations financed by the state budget—not at the moment, in any case. [end recording]

[Correspondent] However, Sandor Kovacs is not deeply pessimistic about the situation because his party will launch enterprises in 1995 which will make use of party's intellectual resources and domestic and foreign contacts.

Szabo Views MDF's Role

LD2912101494 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 29 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At the Hungarian Democratic Forum's [MDF] year-end press briefing which was held yesterday, Ivan Szabo, leader of the MDF group of parliamentary deputies, expressed the view that after four years of hard work in government the MDF can permit itself to view things from the opposite side. He said that a coalition government with such a parliamentary majority can do whatever it likes. The explanation for it not acting can only be that it does not know what it wants to do. [passage omitted]

According to Ivan Szabo, the MDF wishes to see a strengthened government because changing governments every year or so in Hungary is not in the MDF's interest. This would lead to nothing good, whatever.

Having learned the lessons of the local government elections, the MDF would like to have closer links with the Christian Democratic People's Party and with the Federation of Young Democrats because shaping the future is a serious task, Ivan Szabo said.

Keleti on Military Relations With Neighbors

LD2912093294 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 29 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] At the end of the year our News Summary asked Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti to sum up the relations between the Hungarian Army and the armies of the neighboring countries.

According to the minister, taken as a whole, the Hungarian Army's relations with the armies of all the neighboring states are balanced, and gradual progress may be expected in several areas in the immediate future.

[Begin Keleti recording] There is a traditionally good relationship with the Austrian side. In addition to this, I think that our relationship with Slovenia is outstanding and I also must state that our relations with Slovakia are improving, although it has not been possible yet to meet the new minister of defense because he was appointed only a few weeks ago. We are preparing to sign a basic air defense treaty with them.

In a similar vein, we are preparing to sign an agreement with the Serbs too. We would like to strengthen further those forms of cooperation which, precisely in the interest of border security, have already become established. We have contacts with the Croatian Army as well. The chiefs of staffs of the two countries will meet in the next few days.

I met my Romanian colleague recently. In this respect, the key question is the way in which the parliaments of the two countries will implement the mutual training and exchange of soldiers.

Last but not least, our relations with Ukraine are also settled. I think that we are able to shape a military cooperation with them on the basis of good neighborly relations. [end recording]

Industry Minister Views Future of Uranium Mining

AU2312184694 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Dec 94 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Industry and Trade Minister Laszlo Pal by Katalin Bossanyi; place and date not given: "The Uranium Mine Will Be Closed Down in 1997"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to our information, a decision can be expected at this week's government

session on the future of Mecsek Ore Mines Inc.: The uranium mine will be closed down by the end of 1997. We interviewed Industry and Trade Minister Laszlo Pal on the possibilities of resolving the ongoing conflict of industry policy and employment policy, the fate of Hungarian uranium mining, and the future of the eight mines that were left out of the integration of power stations and mines.

[Bossanyi] What was the decision: Will uranium mining be maintained or will it be wound up?

[Pal] As domestic production is always more expensive than imports and, in addition to this, we have large stocks, we came to two decisions after long consultations. We will not open any new sites, the ones that are open will be exhausted, and we will close down the uranium mine by the end of 1997.

[Bossanyi] What will happen to the employees?

[Pal] Advanced talks are under way on constructing a gas-fuelled power station in this area. This would be built next to the current coal-fuelled power station and some of the uranium miners could be employed here.

[Bossanyi] Have you completely discarded the idea of building a burial site for used uranium fuel?

[Pal] The environmental studies are still under way, and we are also holding talks with foreign partners on their repurchasing this material. If these are successful, then we must not build a uranium-burial site in Hungary.

[Bossanyi] What are your plans on the eight enterprises that were left out of the integration of coal mines and power stations?

[Pal] We will maintain two mines, close one down, and we are working on the detailed schedule of closing down the other five—after they have been exhausted and the labor force redirected. As Poles are doing the skilled work at some of these sites, replacing these people with domestic miners can ease the employment problems. Naturally, they will have to accept being employed at distant sites. As for the dispute with the Hungarian Power Plants Trust [MVM RT]: We are close to a solution, we are only arguing about some tenths of petajoules. The MVM RT should buy this extra amount, which is 0.2 percent of the domestic coal production.

[Bossanyi] Will it also be possible to maintain this governmental position after the privatization of the MVM RT?

[Pal] When the privatization strategy was drawn up, some guarantees were also included. The concept of gradual mine closures and ensuring distance heating can be part of the invitations for bids and the privatization contracts. This area is legally regulated.

Russian Ambassador Discusses Polish-Russian Ties

WS2912100294 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 28 Dec 94 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Russian Ambassador to Poland Yuriy Kashlev by Wieslaw Debski; place and date not given: "The Russian Foreign Affairs Ministry on Relations With Poland: This Was Not a Bad Year"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Gennadiy Karasin, spokesman for the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, reported on Monday that the board of that ministry discussed the state of Polish-Russian relations, positively evaluating the activities of the Russian Embassy in Warsaw. TRYBUNA spoke with a participant in that board meeting, Ambassador Yuriy Kashlev.

[Debski] Mr. Ambassador, what was the board's evaluation of the state of cooperation between our two states?

[Kashlev] It was no coincidence that this issue was raised at the meeting. The board usually discusses the most important current problems facing our country. Relations with Poland fell into that category. Five deputy ministers and nearly 20 experts and heads of departments took the floor.

Everyone understands that Poland is a very important neighbor to us, with which mutual relations always were and remain good. On the other hand, there has been a series of incidents lately that shed an improper light on our relations.

[Debski] What conclusions did participants in the discussion reach?

[Kashlev] It was emphasized that the aforementioned incidents cannot spoil more important issues pertaining to politics, the economy, tourism, and so forth. And we have noticed positive trends in those areas.

[Debski] Still, you must admit that this passing year has not been the best in this respect.

[Kashlev] How could it have been the best year inasmuch as it was not quite good for the country—for my country, for instance. If internal affairs are not going along well, it has an impact on foreign affairs. This has been a very active year for Polish-Russian relations, and when a lot of things happen, you have both good and bad situations.

Usually it is the bad incidents that attract the most attention. Much less is said of the considerable growth of bilateral trade or active dialogue. After all, Poland was visited by as many as 120 state delegations.

[Debski] But not the ones that really count...

[Kashlev] How can you say that? The minister of foreign affairs visited Krakow, the head of the upper house of parliament visited Warsaw, 14 ministerial heads came to visit. You have to see that as well. I cannot agree with the

statement that this was a bad year just because minor incidents occurred or because there was a difference of opinion on NATO.

[Debski] Life has shown that we are incapable of solving all of the problems between our two countries. Which of them were considered to be of top priority?

[Kashlev] Most of all, a further development of work on joint treaties and legal regulations, including the need to sign agreements that have already been prepared, to be finalized once Prime Minister Chernomyrdin comes to Poland.

[Debski] When will he come?

[Kashlev] His closest colleagues are at present trying to set a date. I can say that he will definitely come. The board stated, however, that not all of the agreements have to wait until the prime minister's visit. Some could be signed earlier, at a lower level.

The second issue, in order of importance, was economic cooperation. We are very interested in furthering it, as we are aware that one does not find \$3 billion on the street. We must thus implement all of the projects that have already been prepared: establish a gas pipeline, redeem the mutual debt, sign tariff agreements, settle the issue of sea fishing, including open sea fishing in the Sea of Okhotsk. The need to continue investigations into the issue of Katyn and Byednoye was stated. We also discussed our participation in celebrations marking the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Warsaw, Krakow, and Oswiecim [Auschwitz] next month. In this context, the issue of the burial sites of Russian soldiers in Poland came up.

[Debski] A statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs says that particular attention in the dialogue with Warsaw must be paid to the expansion of NATO. What does that mean?

[Kashlev] The position of both sides on this matter should be presented more often and in fuller detail. It was pointed out that there had been no full-blooded consultations on the issue between our foreign affairs ministries. We have our views; you have yours. We have to talk about them.

[Debski] Mr. Ambassador, one final question. Will Prime Minister Chernomyrdin visit Warsaw in January?

[Kashlev] It is my wish. We have even thought of combining the visit with the prime minister's participation in one of the anniversary celebrations, for example the liberation of Warsaw or Oswiecim. I do not know if that would be possible. The situation in our country is tense, and so is the prime minister's agenda.

It was said at the board meeting that summits should be held more frequently. It was emphasized that we must "pay our debts"—namely, finalize the visits of not only the prime minister, but also the heads of both houses of parliament and the foreign minister to Poland. [Russian

Foreign Minister] Kozyrev will definitely come to Gdansk in May to take part in a meeting of foreign affairs ministers of the Baltic Sea states, but a bilateral visit is planned as well.

[Debski] Thank you very much for the interview.

Polish-German Border Cooperation Committee Meets

MM2912115094 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 16 Dec 94 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Talks on Border Crossings in Saxony"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 13-14 December 1994, the seventh session of the Committee for Border Cooperation active within the framework of the Polish-German Government Commission took place in Bad Muskau in Saxony. The topics discussed included questions connected with the continued difficult situation at existing border crossings and the opening of new border-crossing facilities. The committee welcomed the move whereby the Bonn and Warsaw governments set up respective posts of government plenipotentiary for border crossing. It also noted with approval the opening of two new border crossings and the ratification of the agreement on facilitating the procedure of border-crossing clearance formalities.

According to the committee, in the interest of further facilitation and speeding up of border-crossing clearance formalities, it is essential to increase the numbers of personnel employed at border crossings and to introduce joint clearance procedures. The committee also recommended that Polish customs clearance tariffs be differentiated to accommodate the carriers who cross the border irregularly.

The committee received a report on the current progress of the work of the Polish-German Association for the Support of the Economy. Recently the association opened offices in Berlin. The committee approved the proposal to open a Polish-German journalists' club, to be named "The Stereotypes."

Party Profiles, Voter Intentions Analyzed

MM2912092794 Opole NOWA TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 17-18 Dec 94 p 5

[Article by Teresa Kwasniewska: "Who Will Vote and How"]

[FBIS Translated Text] If the parliamentary election were held today, 56 percent of the electorate would take part in it. Together the government coalition parties would win 38 percent of the votes. The Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] remains the winner in the Public Opinion Survey Center [CBOS] listing, with an advantage of 8 percentage points over the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]....

Who are the potential voters?

They are people with higher education, managerial personnel and the intelligentsia, people with the highest incomes who are interested in politics. Those least willing to participate in the election are to be found among the unemployed, people with a low assessment of their financial situation, those educated only to primary school level, and those not interested in politics. In other words, social status is a factor that decides who will go to the polls and who will not. People who occupy high places in the social structure certainly intend to make full use of their voting privilege.

Who can enter the Sejm as a member of parliament?

Apart from the SLD and the PSL, the Union of Freedom stands a good chance of entering parliament. The Union of Labor and NSZZ Solidarity [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity"] can also confidently count on winning seats in the Sejm. Among other groups, the Nonparty Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR] could have some difficulty scaling the 5-percent threshold, and the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] has virtually no such chance. As for the group of parties remaining outside the present parliament, the Alliance for Poland might conceivably hope to win seats in the Sejm, on the condition that it would contend the place as an individual party rather than in a coalition.

Who are the sympathizers of individual political parties in Poland?

The SLD adherents are at the same time advocates of the present government. They believe in its economic policy, and they take a positive view of the changes in the economic situation that took place over the past year. They believe that the president's policy weakens the state, while the activity of the Sejm reinforces it. In their hierarchy of values, religious faith takes a remote place toward the end of the list. They believe that the influence of the old, communist *nomenklatura* diminished over the past years as a result of the activity of the present government. On the other hand, they attribute all of the political conflicts "at the top" to our politicians' political immaturity.

The SLD adherents are predominantly religious nonbelievers, or at least nonpractising believers, former Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] members, lower-rank, white-collar workers, and city dwellers. The PSL sympathizers share the sense of satisfaction derived from the fact that Waldemar Pawlak holds the post of prime minister, but they are not really unanimous on any essential political question concerning the country's life. The only true exception is their conviction that universal privatization is a venture that is harmful to the Polish economy. On the other hand, an interesting factor that separates the adherents of the largest peasant party from any other similar groups is a curious element that belongs in the realm of morals and beliefs. They are largely and almost unanimously skeptical about the belief that you can experience only one great and true emotional involvement in your life.

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The Solidarity adherents are held together by their shared belief that, in the course of the past year and under the aegis of the present government, the privatization of state enterprises was organized much more speedily and efficiently than it had been in the past. In the recent political wrangles, they tend on the whole to take the president's part because they see his actions as being beneficial and consolidating from the viewpoint of the state's interests. On the other hand, they hold a negative view of the Sejm, which, in their opinion, weakens the state. The Solidarity union group enjoys the most widespread support from farmers and skilled blue-collar workers who are at the same time actively practicing Catholics.

The adherents of Ryszard Bugaj's party [Union of Labor] are, in turn, united more by their shared views on certain moral issues than by their opinions on political or economic questions. Nevertheless, the most important point in their assessment of the present realities of life in Poland is their conviction that the living standards of the population have suffered a considerable deterioration during the present government's term of office. To better understand the essence of their views, it should be noted that the largest numbers of Union of Labor adherents are recruited from among young women who live in large cities.

The followers of the Union of Freedom have a negative opinion of the current power elite. They are particularly critical of the prime minister. They are resolute opponents of the present government, which, in their view, slowed down the process of privatization during the course of the past year. On the other hand, they are in favor of the Universal Privatization program, which they perceive as advantageous for the Polish economy. The Union of Freedom electorate is made up predominantly of representatives of the intelligentsia living on high incomes.

Religious faith is the factor that unites the supporters of the Alliance for Poland political party. In their scale of values, a very important role is accorded to love for their partners, whom they choose for life. The only political concern that unites and, indeed, interests them is a moderate dislike for the present government. They devote much of their time to prayer, and they do not complain about their financial circumstances.

The BBWR voters are predominantly Lech Walesa supporters. They are in favor of privatization, they set a high value on having interesting work, and, in questions of morals, they reject a romantic belief in true and platonic love between a man and a woman.

The KPN is at the moment enjoying the most vigorous support from...pensioners. They are most concerned about matters associated with battling financial difficulties in everyday life. To cope with these, they are often forced to appeal for help to their families or a variety of institutions. In their view, universal privatization is decidedly harmful to the Polish economy. They believe

that one year of Waldemar Pawlak's rule has resulted in an increased influence of the former communist *nomenklatura* in Poland.

And the final conclusion that can be drawn from the CBOS opinion poll: During the past month, the gap between the numerical support that would be given by potential voters to the SLD and to the PSL has widened considerably. It would appear that the prime minister's indecisiveness and his reluctance to make clear-cut decisions, both carefully noted by broad swatches of the population, have resulted in a shift of sympathies and the declared support of a proportion of the center-left-oriented electorate in the direction of the Democratic Left Alliance group.

Poll Shows Most Support for Democratic Left

MM2912115494 Wroclaw SLOWO POLSKIE in Polish
17-18 Dec 94 p 2

[PAP-attributed report: "Heart on the Left"]

[FBIS Translated Text] If the next parliamentary election were to be held in December, the biggest number of votes would be cast in favor of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. At the moment, 18 percent of Poles declare a readiness to vote for the SLD. This is one of the conclusions drawn from a December opinion poll by the Public Opinion Survey Center [CBOS].

The next places on the list would go to the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], with 14 percent of the votes; the Union of Freedom, with 13 percent; and Solidarity, which would receive the votes of 12 percent of the electorate. The 5-percent parliamentary threshold would also be crossed by the Union of Labor, which is supported by 10 percent of Poles, and the Nonparty Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR], which gets 6 percent of the population's votes.

Compared with the November polling survey, the sharpest decline in voters' support was recorded by the SLD (from 23 percent to 18 percent), which, nevertheless, remains the most popular political group. The percentage of supporters grew most markedly for Solidarity (from 8 percent to 12 percent). According to the CBOS, support for the PSL is declining "slowly but systematically" (from 20 percent in September to 14 percent in December).

Right Said Prepared To Support Walesa

WS2812131794 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
27 Dec 94 p 2

[Article by Marcin Dominik Zdort: "The Right Keeps a Watchful Eye on the President: Walesa Contests the Outcome of His Own Policy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The right is attentively watching, even supporting, Lech Walesa's attempts at weakening the leftist governing coalition. The leaders of extraparlimentary groups do, however, openly state that approval of*

the president's current actions does not imply that they have suddenly begun to view him as credible and worthy of their support in next year's election for head of state. "Walesa is contesting the results of his own policy," claims Stefan Niesiolowski of the Christian National Union [ZChN]. According to Ludwik Dorn of the Center Accord [PC], the conflict between the president and the left is a "clash of two political egos."

What has changed in Walesa so as to make him acceptable to the right? "Most of all...

He Changed the Language

...he used to describe the domestic situation," stresses Stefan Niesiolowski. "Once the concordat was rejected, he said 'enough of communism.' He should have said that at the very beginning." The deputy president of the ZChN says Walesa is currently forced to wage a war with the very system he fortified. "Had he behaved like this for the past three years, communism would never have made a comeback," states Niesiolowski.

"For half a year now, Walesa has been behaving like a rightist president. There is nothing I can criticize him for," says Janusz Korwin-Mikke about the head of state, stressing the respect the Union of Real Politics [UPR] holds for the presidential office. "We cannot help it if the president does not have any respect for himself and shifts his weight from one leg to the other," says the UPR president.

Recent developments have not inclined Ludwik Dorn of the PC to change his attitude toward Lech Walesa in any way. "There are no grounds for that, as best proved by the meeting with the coalition parliamentary clubs, when it turned out that the president is willing to...

Sell the Budget

...for the defense minister," says the deputy president of the PC, who did, however, approve of Walesa's decision to veto the bill on salaries in the public sector. In the fight between the president and the coalition, Dorn sees a certain element of "benefit for the country." "It is better to have a clash of two political egos than the monopoly of just one. If two pathological systems clash, they counterbalance one another, leaving considerable room for freedom," he says.

Nevertheless, the PC does not intend to change its very critical attitude toward Walesa. "There is no reason for us to start supporting either of these political egos because none of them seems to represent a solid vision of the state," says the PC leader.

Stefan Niesiolowski and Janusz-Korwin-Mikke do not rule out the possibility of lending their support to Lech Walesa in the second round of elections. "Walesa is at the moment the only real power capable of defying the insolence of the new rulers of the Second People's Republic. We hope the budget is vetoed...

The Sejm Is Dissolved

...earlier elections are held, the candidacy of Pastusiak for defense minister is rejected, and the bill on pensions for former secret service employees is voted against," states the deputy president of the ZChN, emphasizing on the other hand that backing the current activities of the president and supporting him next year are two separate issues.

"The most important requirement for a head of state is credibility, and someone who changes beliefs often cannot be called credible," says Janusz Korwin-Mikke. "It might turn out that, after having had supported the right leg for half a year, he will start supporting the left one once again."

The president of UPR, however, does not exclude the possibility that his party may support Lech Walesa in the second round of presidential elections as a lesser evil if his opposing candidate is even harder to accept. "We might support him, provided, of course, he makes it to the second round, which I personally doubt," says Korwin-Mikke.

Rightist Parties Prepare for 7 Jan Conference

WS2812153994 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
28 Dec 94 p 2

[Article by Marcin Dominik Zdort: "Confederation Along a ZChN-UPR Axis: First a Joint Program, Then a Coalition"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A conference of rightist parties that, according to an announcement made by the Christian National Union [ZChN], is due to take place on 7 January with the aim of developing a joint program is unlikely to end in the signing of an agreement establishing a confederation of extraparlimentary parties, although it might be a huge step forward in that direction. The participating politicians will meet with the chief purpose of agreeing on similarities between the programs of the two existing rightist coalitions—the Alliance for Poland [PdP] and the 11 November Accord.

A Program for the Alliance

Immediately after it was founded, the PdP (at that time consisting of the Center Accord [PC], the Polish Peasant Party-Peasant Agreement, and the ZChN) adopted "Economic and Social Principles" and then a draft constitution that defined the bloc's program in greater detail. The 11 November Accord (the Party of Christian Democrats, the Conservative Party [PK], the Peasant-Christian Party [SLCh], and the Union for Real Politics [UPR]) passed a joint 'Program Declaration.' Differences between the two rightist alliances pertain, for example, to models of the state system. As far as the PdP advocated rather a parliamentary-presidential system, the 'Declaration' passed by 11 November Accord speaks of a presidential-parliamentary one. The 11 November Accord more clearly stresses the need for free market

reforms in Poland and provides for canceling group privileges (including those of trade unions), limiting the issuing of licenses, and banning biased licensing of publishing and radio and television broadcasting. In its "Principles," the Alliance stressed, for instance, the need to increase funds for education, reduce unemployment, and strengthen family values.

According to Ryszard Czarnecki, the program of a future confederation would have to be based on six principles common to the right: the priority of Polish interests in politics, building a strong state, protecting citizen rights, free enterprise, an ardent fight against crime, and respect for tradition and national identity.

Crisis in the Coalitions

Agreeing upon joint elements for the program of both blocs is unlikely to pose an insurmountable problem, yet it is worth noticing that, for some time, the PdP and 11 November Accord have been divided and suffering a serious crisis.

The conference scheduled by the ZChN for 7 January is being prepared jointly with UPR. The ZChN-UPR axis has been mentioned on several occasions by the leaders of these parties, who stressed that the programs of both groups, the economic assumptions of UPR, and the ideological principles of the ZChN may become road signs for the uniting right and its constituency. The ZChN and UPR, however, have thus far been part of two rival blocs, and the agreement they reached has disturbed both alliances. It seemed that Jaroslaw Kaczynski's PC and Aleksander Hall's PK, along with Artur Balazs's SLCh, might turn down an invitation to the meeting. Recently, however, the leaders of both blocs have held a series of meetings, the most important of them last Friday, during which Hall and Kaczynski (until recently against cooperation with UPR) declared their willingness to participate in the conference.

"Pushing Out," Hostility, and Disloyalty

"So far, the ZChN has dealt with UPR without us, but that is not important to the PC," said the leader of the latter. He is also ready to take part in talks on the future confederation, although he does consider the idea as a substitute issue and continues to believe that all of the rightist groups dissolve of their own accord and form one party. Jaroslaw Kaczynski fears that the ZChN is trying to "push the PC out of the new system." "This is obvious because the ZChN keeps on inviting Wojciech Dobrzynski to its news conferences despite the fact that we are in the process of expelling him from the PC. It is an act of disloyalty and hostility, but we will not allow ourselves to be guided by our emotions," assures Kaczynski.

"Although we have not yet been officially invited to the conference, we will not avoid a meeting and wish to take part in the discussion of a program for the right," Aleksander Hall told RZECZPOSPOLITA. The PK

leader does claim, however, that only a joint presidential candidate can consolidate the right, whereas, speaking of establishing a confederation before the elections, the prematurity of which still remains hypothetical, seems unnecessary to him. "The right has humiliated itself enough as it is trying to form new constellations," says Hall.

Weighed Votes

The future confederation of rightist groups (an issue raised for quite a long time by UPR, recently modified by Ryszard Czarnecki of the ZChN) should be a loose bloc resembling the French RPR (Assembly for the Republic). Authorities of the rightist confederation would be collective, yet the vote of each party representative would be 'weighed' against the support it had in last year's parliamentary elections, also taking into consideration the results of local elections. Reaching an understanding would imply a preelection agreement within which seats on the confederation's election lists would be assigned proportionally to the number of votes gathered by the particular parties in the previous parliamentary elections (with adjustments made to provide for local election results).

Polish Trade With EU, EFTA Countries

95EP0016A Warsaw RYNKI ZAGRANICZNE (special supplement) in Polish No 131-132, 1-3 Nov 94 pp 1-8

[Compiled by Marian Zarzycki: "Information for Businessmen, Polish Trade with Countries of the European Union and EFTA"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The countries of the European Union [EU] are Poland's principal trade partners. In the first half of 1994 we sold to them goods worth \$4.655 billion, or 62.4 percent of our exports. During the same period we imported from these countries goods worth \$5.385 billion, or 58.8 percent.

The volume of trade with these countries and the share of trade of each country are illustrated in the table below. The figures it contains indicate that:

- The dominant partner in the trade between EU countries and Poland is Germany. It accounts for about one-half of that trade (55.7 percent of exports and 47.3 percent of imports).
- An important place in trading is occupied by the four following countries: the Netherlands, Italy, France, and Great Britain. They account for more than one-third of total trade with the EU: 32.4 percent of exports and 39.9 percent of imports.
- The combined trade turnover of three countries—Denmark, Belgium, and Spain—is 10.4 percent in exports and 11.5 percent in imports.

—Four other countries, namely, Greece, Ireland, Portugal, and Luxembourg, play a marginal role; together, they account for less than 1 percent of our exports and

imports, and their combined share of our trade with EU countries amounts to 1.3 percent of exports and 1.2 percent of imports.

Trade With EU Countries in the First Half of 1994

	Exports	Imports	Balance	Share in Trade (in percent)		Change Since 1993 (1 Jun 1993 = 100)	
	(in Millions of U.S. Dollars\$)			Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports
Germany	2,594	2,544	+ 50	55.7	47.3	104.5	92.8
The Netherlands	405	428	- 23	8.7	7.9	105.2	95.6
Italy	384	300	- 416	8.2	14.8	72.5	99.2
France	382	446	- 64	8.2	8.3	125.9	103.3
Great Britain	338	481	- 143	7.3	8.9	116.3	86.2
Denmark	239	236	+ 3	5.1	4.4	120.5	103.3
Belgium	193	226	- 33	4.1	4.2	108.4	102.7
Spain	57	156	- 99	1.2	2.9	123.9	115.0
Greece	27	21	+ 6	0.6	0.4	118.3	101.9
Ireland	25	39	- 14	0.5	0.7	94.3	121.8
Portugal	10	4	+ 6	0.2	0.07	116.6	182.4
Luxembourg	1	4	- 3	0.02	0.07	72.5	99.2
Total EU	4,655	5,385	- 730	100.0	100.0	108.0	96.0

Source: Central Institute for Foreign Trade data, based on SAD documents

Thus in practice Poland's trade with EU countries takes place with the first eight partners. Trade with the remaining four is hardly significant.

The balance of trade is negative for Poland to the extent of \$730 million, although to be sure it has radically improved in comparison with the first half of 1993 when it reached \$1.3 billion. The principal "perpetrator" of this negative result is trade with Italy, which accounts for nearly 60 percent of the entire negative balance of trade with the EU. Great Britain accounts for nearly 20 percent, and Spain 13.5 percent. Thus these three countries account for about 93 percent of the entire negative balance of trade between Poland and the EU. But while the deficit in trade with Great Britain markedly declined in comparison with the first half of 1993 (to \$143 million from \$268 million), the deficit in trade with Italy remained at practically the same level (\$420 million a year ago and \$416 million at present), and with Spain it increased (to \$99 million from \$89 million).

It is worth noting that a year ago Poland's balance of trade with all the EU countries except Greece was negative. At present it has remained negative with only three countries. This is due to the rise in Polish exports by 8 percent during the first half of 1994, compared with a like period last year, along with a simultaneous 4-percent decline in exports. Here it is important that with regard to certain major EU trade partners of Poland (France, Great Britain, and Denmark) the increase in Polish exports markedly exceeds the mean indicator for the EU as a whole.

Germany

Among the EU countries Germany is Poland's principal partner. Trade with that country stands out by its large scale, diversity of goods traded, and an equipoised trade balance with a slight positive outcome for Poland (\$50 million). Both imports and exports include almost the entire gamut of merchandise nomenclature of the 21 sections of the European customs tariff.

Exports—Principal Commodity Groups: [Translator's note: Hereafter in this article only the commodities exported or imported in amounts exceeding \$1 million are specified]

—Agricultural and food products: Vegetables, fresh, frozen, dehydrated, and processed (\$24.3 million); fruits, fresh and frozen (\$21.9 million); fruit juices (\$17.6 million); canned fish (\$12.8 million); canned meat (\$8.8 million); meat and meat products (\$8 million); cattle on hoof (\$5.4 million); and down (\$4.9 million).

—Mineral products: Cement (\$68.7 million); coal (\$50 million); coke (\$30.4 million); crude petroleum and petroleum derivatives (\$12.6 million); and construction aggregate (\$17 million).

—Chemical products: Plastic products (\$17.2 million); ethylene and vinyl chloride polymers (\$15 million); polyacetyls (\$14 million); mineral fertilizers (\$14 million); aliphatic alcohols (\$7.5 million); phenols and

- polycarboxyl acids (\$6.7 million); tires (\$6.5 million), and antibiotics (\$5 million).
- Hides and leather goods: Cattle hides (\$12.8 million); pelt (\$6.3 million); leather goods (\$5.2 million).
 - Lumber and wood products: Sawn pine timber (\$56.5 million); crates and joinery and carpentry products (\$51.1 million); fiberboard and plywood (\$22.1 million); other wood products (\$28.5 million); and cellulose (\$6.4 million).
 - Pulp, paper, and cardboard: Paper and paperboard (\$7.2 million); carbon typing paper (\$5.4 million); and toilet paper and tampons (\$3.6 million).
 - Textile materials and products: Men's, women's, and children's garments and accessories (\$293.6 million); women's blouses and shirts (\$57.5 million); men's shirts (\$57.7 million); bedlinen (\$21.2 million); knitwear (\$13.9 million), and hosiery (\$7.9 million).
 - Base-metal products: An extremely broad variety of iron and steel products, including rolled products, angle bars, structural steel elements, pipe products, low-pressure collection tanks, and screw products—the aggregate value of these exports was \$269.2 million; also exported were nonferrous metal products: copper and copper products (\$109.7 million); aluminum and aluminum products (\$15.7 million); zinc (\$9.4 million); and silver (\$7.6 million).
 - Products of the electrical machinery industry: Passenger cars (\$59.6 million); wire, cable, and conductors (\$41.3 million); ships (\$38.3 million); electrical connecting and insulating products (\$16.7 million); automotive trailers and semi-trailers (\$15.2 million); containers (\$15.1 million); construction and road machinery and parts (\$14.1 million); electric pressing irons (\$9.8 million); electron tubes (\$9.3 million); bicycles (\$7.7 million); rock sorting and crushing machinery (\$5.7 million); electrical transformers (\$5.2 million); and household power appliances (\$4.1 million).
 - Miscellaneous manufactured goods: Furniture (\$278 million, or 61 percent of the total exports of this merchandise in the first half of 1994); prefabricated buildings (\$8.3 million); and toys (\$4 million).
- Imports—Principal Commodity Groups**
- Agricultural and food products: Oilcake for feeds (\$23.6 million); meal, semolina, and meat granulates for feeds (\$16 million); coffee (\$16.3 million); soybean oil (\$11.8 million); confectionery and chocolate products (\$10.7 million); cheeses, yellow and white (\$7.1 million); and processed tobacco (\$6.5 million).
 - Mineral products: The single significant item is oils derived from crude petroleum, whose imports amounted to \$21.8 million.
 - Chemical products: Plastics and plastic products (\$99.6 million); medicaments (\$51.4 million); pesticides and herbicides (\$15.5 million); aliphatic and cyclic hydrocarbons (\$14.3 million); paints and lacquers (\$13 million); core binders for foundry molds (\$10.5 million); potassic fertilizers (\$9.3 million); acetylenic polymers (\$9.2 million); adhesives and binding agents (\$8.2 million); odorants (\$7.5 million); phenols (\$7.2 million); resins and polyurethanes (\$6.1 million); vinyl chloride polymers (\$5.3 million); and acrylic polymers (\$5.3 million).
 - Pulp, paper, and cardboard: Paper, paperboard, and cardboard for packaging purposes (\$56.6 million); and books and periodicals printed in Germany (\$22.2 million).
 - Textile materials and products: Cotton fabrics (\$91.7 million); artificial fiber fabrics (\$72.7 million); and woollens (\$48.3 million).
 - Base-metal products: Iron and steel products (\$58.1 million); aluminum and aluminum products (\$24.6 million); lead (\$2.3 million); and furniture fixtures and fittings (\$16.7 million).
 - Products of the electrical machinery industry: Passenger cars (\$104.4 million); special-purpose machinery (\$39.5 million); food-industry machinery (\$26.3 million); machine tools (\$26 million); washing machines, dryers, and filter devices (\$24.5 million); automotive parts and accessories (\$24.5 million); control fittings for heating installations (\$20.2 million); computers (\$19.6 million); trucks (\$18.5 million); water and air pumps (\$18.3 million); printing machinery (\$15 million); machinery and equipment for heating and refrigerating processes (\$14.4 million); tools and devices (\$12.9 million); control and measuring apparatus (\$10.7 million); automotive trailers and semi-trailers (\$10.6 million); special-purpose vehicles (\$7.5 million); and x-ray equipment (\$6 million). Imports from Germany, a country which is the world's biggest exporter of products of the electrical machinery industry, are of major importance to the technological restructuring of the Polish economy.

The Netherlands

The Netherlands is, after Germany, Poland's second biggest trade partner among EU countries in terms of size of exports, and third biggest in terms of trade volume. Reciprocal trade is almost balanced, with a slight negative balance of \$23 million for Poland.

Exports: Principal Commodity Groups

- Agricultural and food products: Powdered milk (\$17.7 million); fresh, frozen, and processed vegetables (\$10.3 million); frozen fruit (\$5.8 million); processed mushrooms (\$4.2 million); canned fish and sea food (\$4.2 million); and fruit juices (\$2 million).

—Mineral products: Coal (\$23.9 million); coke (\$6.4 million); oils derived from crude petroleum (\$1.9 million); and cement (\$1.6 million).

Chemicals: Aliphatic alcohols (\$15.4 million); ethylene polymers (\$1.9 million); vinyl chloride polymers (\$1.5 million); and casein (\$1.5 million).

—Lumber and wood products: Sawn pine timber (\$11.2 million); crates, boxes, and pallets (\$5.2 million); miscellaneous wood articles (\$4 million); and joinery and carpentry products (\$1.5 million).

—Textile products: Garments and accessories (\$46.9 million); women's blouses and shirts (\$11.2 million); men's shirts (\$3.4 million); and sweaters and pullovers (\$2.6 million).

—Products of the electrical machinery industry: Incandescent lamps (\$24.4 million); passenger cars (\$11.8 million); parts for combustion engines (\$3.2 million); household power appliances (\$2.8 million); trucks (\$2.6 million); ships (\$1.7 million); and bicycles (\$1.5 million).

—Miscellaneous manufactured goods: Furniture (\$11 million).

Imports: Principal Commodity Groups

—Agricultural and food products: Oilcake and feed mixtures (\$16.9 million); other processed products (\$10.2 million); soybean oil (\$9.6 million); animal intestines (\$8 million); poultry (\$6.2 million); fresh, frozen, and refrigerated pork (\$5.3 million); plant seedlings and cuttings (\$5.3 million); fresh and refrigerated tomatoes (\$5.2 million); and frozen fish (\$3.3 million).

—Mineral products: Oils derived from crude petroleum (\$4 million).

—Chemical products: Plastics and plastic products (\$17.4 million); pesticides and herbicides (\$8.6 million); medicaments (\$5.2 million); photographic film and paper (\$4 million); ethers and ether alcohols (\$4 million); odorants (\$3.2 million); polyacetyls (\$2.8 million); and adhesives, putty, and packings (\$2.1 million).

—Pulp, paper, and cardboard: Paper and paperboard (\$8.2 million).

—Textile products: Artificial-fiber fabrics (\$19 million); haberdashery goods (\$7.2 million); and cotton fabrics (\$6.2 million).

—Products of the electrical machinery industry: Incandescent lamps (\$11.7 million); computers (\$6.8 million); transformers (\$6.8 million); food machinery (\$4.7 million); liquid and gas filtering equipment (\$3.7 million); bottle-washing, bottling, and bottle-capping machinery (\$3.6 million); tractors (\$2.8 million); and trucks (\$2.3 million).

Italy

Italy is Poland's third biggest trade partner in terms of exports, and second in terms of volume of trade, among EU countries. Our trade with Italy is lopsided in our disfavor: the volume of our imports from that country is twice as big as our exports thereto. The negative balance of trade exceeds, for the second year in a row (when the first half of 1994 is compared with a like period last year), \$400 million and accounts for 57 percent of Poland's entire negative balance of trade with EU countries.

Exports: Principal Commodity Groups

—Agricultural and food products: Live horses (\$35.8 million); cattle on hoof (\$21.6 million); sheep (\$7.2 million); horse meat (\$5.5 million); and pulses (\$3.1 million).

—Mineral products: Coal (\$12.2 million) and sulfur (\$1.3 million).

—Chemical products: Tires (\$3.6 million); nucleic acids (\$2.6 million); mineral fertilizers (\$2.2 million); dye-stuffs (\$1.9 million); and vinyl chloride polymers (\$1.3 million).

—Lumber and wood products: Sawn pine board (\$5.3 million); green wood (\$2.5 million); and crates, boxes, and pallets (\$1.5 million).

—Pulp, paper, and cardboard: Paper and paperboard (\$9.2 million); and uncoated paper (\$1.1 million).

—Textile products: Clothing and accessories (\$5.9 million); bedlinen (\$2.2 million); men's shirts (\$1.8 million); and sweaters and pullovers (\$1.4 million).

—Sales of footwear and parts for its production totaled \$8.5 million, and of table and kitchen china, \$4.4 million.

—Base-metal products: Iron and steel products (\$7.2 million); untreated zinc (\$6.3 million); aluminum articles (\$4.8 million).

—Products of the electrical machinery industry: Passenger cars (\$113.6 million); electron tubes (\$11.4 million); tractors (\$6.2 million); ball bearings (\$3.9 million); and electric motors and dynamos (\$2 million).

Exports to Italy seem to be, in practically every commodity group, exceptionally limited as to variety and diversity. Livestock on hoof (\$64.6 million) and motor vehicles (\$113.6 million) account for 46.6 percent of these exports.

Imports: Principal Commodity Groups

—Agricultural and food products: Meat and poultry products (\$2.6 million); fresh fruits (\$2.2 million) and confectionery products (\$2.2 million).

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- Chemical products: Plastics and plastic products (\$31.3 million); medicaments (\$13.2 million); and paints and lacquers (\$5.5 million).
- Textile products: Woolens (\$9.4 million); synthetic fabrics (\$6.7 million); and pantyhose (\$4.8 million).
- Stonework: Hewn sidewalk stones (\$20.3 million).
- Base-metal products: Iron and steel products (\$26.7 million); and iron and steel household appliances (\$10 million).
- Products of the electrical machinery industry: Passenger cars (\$56.2 million); internal combustion engines (\$49.2 million); automotive parts and accessories (\$44.5 million); plumbing fixtures (\$15.9 million); bottle-washing, bottling, and bottle-capping equipment (\$14.4 million); special-purpose machinery (\$12.5 million); refrigerators and freezers (\$11.9 million); washing machines (\$9.1 million); automotive ignition devices (\$7.7 million); machinery for processing rubber and plastics (\$6.6 million); and computers (\$5.7 million).
- Miscellaneous manufactured goods: Furniture (\$14.4 million); toys (\$6 million); and lighting fixtures (\$5 million).

France

France is Poland's fourth largest trade partner among EU countries, in terms of both volume of exports and overall trade. The balance of trade, although negative for Poland (\$64 million) has improved by \$64 million in comparison with the first half of 1993 owing to the soaring rate of exports (125.9 percent).

Exports—Principal Commodity Groups:

- Food articles: Meat and poultry products (\$5.3 million); frozen fruit (\$4.8 million); horses (\$4.7 million); seafood (\$1.9 million); and alcoholic beverages (\$1.1 million).
- Mineral products: Coal (\$22.3 million).
- Chemical products: Tires (\$5.8 million); mineral fertilizers (\$3.8 million); ammonium carbonate (\$3.7 million); dyestuffs (\$3 million); and casein (\$2 million).
- Textile materials and products: Clothing and accessories (\$23.6 million); sweaters and turtleneck jerseys (\$7.3 million); hosiery (\$5.3 million); women's blouses (\$2 million); and bedlinen (\$1.1 million).
- Stonework, ceramics, and glass: Table china and glassware (\$4.2 million).
- Base-metal products: Iron and steel products (\$12.5 million); electrolytic copper (\$34.6 million); and zinc (\$2.2 million).

- Products of the electrical machinery industry: Ships (\$49.7 million); motor vehicles (\$11.1 million); electron tubes (\$10.9 million); yachts (\$4.1 million); automotive trailers (\$3.5 million); bicycles (\$1.6 million); and electrodes (\$1.3 million).
- Miscellaneous products: Furniture (\$11.9 million); and works of art and antiques (\$40.5 million).

Imports—Principal Commodity Groups:

- Agricultural and food products: Fresh, refrigerated, and frozen pork (\$13.8 million); processed foods (\$10.5 million); meat and poultry products (\$9 million); seeds and seedlings (\$2.4 million); chocolate (\$2 million); alcoholic beverages (\$1.4 million); and wine (\$1 million).
- Chemical products: Medicaments (\$13.6 million); plastics and plastic products (\$12 million); antiknock additives (\$2.9 million); provitamins (\$2.7 million); cosmetics (\$2.7 million); laboratory reagents (\$2 million); and synthetic rubber (\$2 million).
- Textile materials and products: Synthetic-fiber fabrics (\$8.3 million); and woolen yarn (\$7.8 million).
- Stonework, ceramics, and glass: Table and kitchen glassware (\$6.9 million); and glass lampshades (\$2.2 million).
- Base-metal products: Iron and steel products (\$7.9 million).
- Products of the electrical machinery industry: Passenger cars (\$26.9 million); electrical telephone and telegraph equipment (\$14 million); air pumps (\$9.4 million); heating and refrigerating machinery and equipment (\$8 million); electron tubes (\$6.6 million); internal combustion engines (\$4.5 million); automotive parts and accessories (\$4.5 million); computers (\$3.8 million); devices for measuring liquid and gas pressure (\$3.8 million); connecting and insulating devices (\$3.7 million); special-purpose machinery and equipment (\$3.6 million); printing machinery (\$3.1 million) and devices for physico-chemical analysis (\$2.2 million).

Great Britain

That country is Poland's fifth largest trade partner among the EU countries, in terms of both volume of exports and volume of trade. A characteristic feature of trade with that country is a substantial negative balance of trade (\$143 million), which accounts for nearly 20 percent of our negative balance of trade with EU countries.

Exports: Principal Commodity Groups —Agricultural and food products: Frozen fruit (\$4 million); canned meat (\$1.8 million); molasses (\$1.8 million); powdered milk (\$1.5 million); and frozen vegetables (\$1.1 million).

- Mineral products: Coal (\$57.8 million); oils and products of the distillation of coal (\$2.9 million); sulfur (\$1.6 million); and oils derived from crude petroleum (\$1.4 million).
- Chemical products: Tires (\$12.5 million); mineral fertilizers (\$6.4 million); ammonium carbonate (\$2.4 million); pharmaceuticals (\$1.9 million); and vinyl chloride polymers (\$1.4 million).
- Lumber and wood products: Sawn pine board (\$6.4 million); joinery and carpentry products (\$1.5 million); and fiberboard (\$1.3 million).
- Pulp, paper, and cardboard: Paper and paperboard (\$4.2 million); and carbon typing paper (\$2.6 million).
- Textile materials and products: clothing and accessories (\$5.5 million); bedlinen (\$1.9 million).
- Also exported was footwear—sales of \$5 million.
- Base-metal products: Electrolytic copper (\$59.8 million); iron and steel products (\$17.9 million); and aluminum and its products (\$1.4 million).
- Also exported was silver—sales of \$4.5 million.
- Products of the electrical machinery industry: Passenger cars (\$22.5 million); electron tubes (\$5.5 million); wire and cable (\$4.8 million); ball bearings (\$2.6 million); and ships (\$2.4 million).
- Miscellaneous products: Furniture (\$7.3 million).

Imports—Principal Commodity Groups:

- Agricultural and food products: Meat and poultry products (\$2.7 million); frozen fish (\$2.5 million); coffee and tea concentrates (\$2.5 million); tobacco (\$2.3 million); tea (\$1.2 million); and confectionery products (\$1.2 million).
- Mineral products: Crude petroleum (\$117.7 million); petroleum coke (\$5.2 million); and petroleum products (\$4.2 million).
- Chemical products: Medicaments (\$32.7 million); cosmetics (\$12.5 million); plastics and plastic products (\$8.7 million); pesticides and herbicides (\$8.1 million); polyacetyls (\$5.6 million); and core binders for foundry molds (\$1.8 million);
- Pulp, paper, and cardboard: Wallpaper (\$3.8 million); books and brochures (\$3.3 million); and cartons and boxes (\$1.1 million).
- Textile materials and products: Wool (\$3.9 million); woolens (\$1.2 million); and synthetic-fiber fabrics (\$1.1 million).
- Base-metal products: Rolled products (\$3.9 million).
- Products of the electrical machinery industry: Computers (\$23.4 million); passenger cars (\$19 million);

tobacco-processing machinery (\$7.7 million); television sets (\$5.8 million); liquid and gas filtration equipment (\$4.7 million); liquid and gas pumps (\$3.2 million); electron tubes (\$3.2 million); internal combustion engines (\$2.8 million); automotive parts and accessories (\$2.7 million); devices for physico-chemical analysis (\$2.7 million); medical devices and instruments (\$2.5 million); and photocopying machines (\$2.3 million).

Denmark

It is Poland's sixth largest trade partner among EU countries in terms of volume of trade. The balance of trade with that country is largely even and somewhat positive (\$3 million).

Exports—Principal Commodity Groups:

- Agricultural and food products: Oilcake for feeds (\$6 million); frozen fruit (\$5.1 million); fresh fish (\$3.6 million); and molasses (\$2.7 million).
- Mineral products: Coal (\$43.1 million); oils derived from crude petroleum (\$7.4 million); and pitch and coal-tar coke (\$1.3 million).
- Chemical products: Mineral fertilizers (\$5.6 million); plastic products (\$4 million).
- Lumber and wood products: Sawn pine timber (\$11.9 million); board and plywood (\$5.3 million); and crates, boxes, and pallets (\$3.1 million).
- Textile materials and products: Clothing and accessories (\$26.2 million); sweaters and pullovers (\$7.4 million); women's blouses and shirts (\$6.6 million); tourist garments (\$2.8 million); bedlinen (\$2.3 million); and men's shirts (\$1.6 million).
- Base-metal products: Iron and steel products (\$10 million).

Imports—Principal Commodity Groups:

- Agricultural and food products: Fresh, refrigerated, or frozen pork (\$37 million), of which Denmark is the principal supplier among EU countries; meal, semolina, and meat granulates for feeds (\$7 million); seeds and seedlings (\$3 million); fish fillets (\$42.9 million); barley (\$1.3 million); and animal fats and oils (\$1.2 million).
- Mineral fertilizers: Oils derived from crude petroleum (\$3.5 million).
- Chemical products: Medicaments (\$5.4 million); and plastics and plastic products (\$4.8 million).
- Textile materials and products: Synthetic-fiber fabrics (\$11.4 million); knitwear (\$9.3 million); cotton fabrics (\$5.2 million); and women's blouses and shirts (\$2.8 million).

—Products of the electrical machinery industry: Refrigerators and freezers (\$7 million); fittings (\$4.9 million); food-processing machinery (\$4.8 million); internal combustion engines (\$4.1 million); and steam boilers (\$2.6 million).

Belgium

It is Poland's seventh largest trade partner among EU countries. Trade with that country is characterized by greater (by \$33 million) imports than exports.

Exports—Principal Commodity Groups:

Agricultural and food products: Powdered milk (\$7.4 million) and frozen fruit (\$1.5 million).

—Mineral products: Coke and semi-coke (\$22 million); coal (\$8.6 million); noble-metal ores (\$5.6 million); and oils derived from crude petroleum (\$4.5 million).

Chemical products: Nucleic acids (\$7.8 million); synthetic rubber (\$2.2 million); and tires (\$1 million).

—Lumber and wood products: Sawn pine board (\$5.7 million); crates, boxes, and pallets (\$2.4 million); and plywood (\$1.1 million).

—Textile materials and products: Clothing and accessories (\$22.3 million); and women's blouses and shirts (\$1.8 million).

—Noble metals: Silver (\$30.7 million).

—Base-metal products: Iron and steel products (\$4.4 million).

—Products of the electrical machinery industry: Passenger cars (\$3.5 million).

—Miscellaneous manufactured goods: Furniture (\$6.3 million) and lighting fixtures (\$1 million).

Imports—Principal Commodity Groups:

—Agricultural and food products: Soybean oil (\$4.6 million); feed preparations (\$1.9 million); and fresh tomatoes (\$1.1 million).

—Mineral products: Oils derived from crude petroleum (\$6.4 million); and zinc ores and concentrates (\$1.2 million).

—Chemical products: Plastics and plastic products (\$16.6 million); medicaments (\$14.8 million); ethylene and styrene polymers (\$5 million); pesticides and herbicides (\$3.1 million); and antiknock additives (\$1.9 million).

—Textile materials and products: Carpeting and carpet pads (\$9.4 million); synthetic-fiber fabrics (\$2.3 million); impregnated fabrics (\$2 million); young people's accessories (\$1.3 million); and haberdashery goods (\$1.3 million).

—Base-metal products: Aluminum products (\$2.5 million); untreated tin (\$1.9 million); and furniture fittings (\$1.3 million).

—Products of the electrical machinery industry: Passenger cars (\$12 million); trucks (\$5.5 million); automotive parts and accessories (\$2.1 million); insulating elements for machinery (\$2.4 million); electron tubes (\$1.9 million); electrodes (\$1.6 million); cells and batteries (\$1.3 million); textile machinery (\$1.1 million); and computers (\$1 million).

Spain

Accounting for 1.2 percent of Polish exports to EU countries and 2.9 percent of imports from them, Spain ranks eighth. The volume of trade with that country is low and at the same time the balance of our trade with it is markedly negative, with imports being double the volume of exports.

Exports—Principal Commodity Groups:

—Passenger cars (\$13.8 million); silver (\$3.8 million); steel scrap (\$2.4 million); electrodes (\$2.2 million); coal (\$2.1 million); coal tar (\$1.6 million); and tires (\$1.6 million).

Imports—Principal Commodity Groups:

—Telephone and telegraph equipment (\$32.6 million); citrus fruit (\$25.8 million); hewn sidewalk stones (\$9.6 million); passenger cars (\$7.6 million); rolled products (\$5.4 million); medicaments (\$4.9 million); fresh tomatoes (\$3.8 million); antibiotics (\$2.5 million); control and measuring devices (\$2.5 million); vacuum pumps (\$1.9 million); textile fabrics and products (\$1.9 million); cucumbers and fresh vegetables (\$1.7 million); and confectionery (\$1.4 million).

Greece, Ireland, Portugal, and Luxembourg

Together, these countries account for 1.3 percent of Poland's exports to the EU and 1.2 percent of imports. This trade is nearly balanced, with a positive balance of trade with Greece (\$6 million) and Portugal (\$6 million) and negative with Ireland (\$14 million); and Luxembourg (\$4 million).

Exports—Principal Commodity Groups:

To Greece: Passenger cars (\$8.6 million); ships (\$3.8 million); metallurgical products (\$1.5 million); and table china (\$1 million).

To Ireland: Coal (\$14.8 million); tractors (\$1.1 million).

To Portugal: Passenger cars (\$1.9 million); anhydrous ammonia (\$1.2 million).

To Luxembourg: No single commodity exported in an amount exceeding \$1 million.

Imports—Principal Commodity Groups:

From Greece: Unprocessed tobacco (\$6 million); cotton fabrics (\$2.7 million); processed tomatoes (\$2.4 million); fruits and nuts (\$1.2 million); and aluminum foil (\$1.2 million).

From Ireland: Aluminum oxide (\$7.6 million); miscellaneous food products (\$5.6 million); computers (\$3.9 million); frozen beef (\$3 million); cosmetics (\$1.5 million); carboxyl acids (\$1.3 million); and frozen fish (\$1.1 million).

From Portugal: Textile materials and products (\$1.3 million); and cellulose (\$1.1 million).

From Luxembourg: No single commodity imported in an amount exceeding \$1 million; the imports, totaling \$4 million, consist of minor shipments of lower value.

Conclusions

The above analysis of trade with EU countries points to the following conclusions:

- The level of exports and the balancing of trade largely depend on the extent of diversification of exports.

This is demonstrated by the example of Germany, Denmark, and the Netherlands.

- With the countries with which trade is limited to just a few commodities, i.e., Italy and Spain, Poland has a high negative balance of trade, due to the relatively low level of Polish exports.

- The analysis indicates that the performance of regular market analyses by the economic and commercial missions of the Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations is reflected in both the volume of exports and their diversity. This concerns, among other countries, Germany, the Netherlands, Great Britain, France, and Denmark.

EFTA [European Free Trade Association] countries are an important trade partner of Poland. In the first half of 1994 they accounted for \$582.9 million in Polish exports and \$1,063.7 million in imports, or 7.5 percent of all Polish exports and 11.3 percent of all Polish imports.

The volume of trade with these countries and the share of each country is presented in the table below:

Trade With EFTA Countries in the First Half of 1994

	Exports	Imports	Balance	Share in Trade (in percent)		Change Since 1994 (1 Jun 1993 = 100)	
	(in Millions of U.S. Dollars\$)			Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports
Sweden	193.9	265.3	- 1.4	33.3	24.9	139.9	132.1
Austria	167.0	251.9	- 84.9	28.7	23.6	99.1	76.9
Finland	91.7	218.2	- 126.5	15.7	20.5	114.1	103.1
Switzerland	78.1	164.3	- 86.2	13.4	15.4	100.9	98.6
Norway	48.5	160.6	- 112.1	8.3	15.1	130.5	93.1
Liechtenstein	2.1	1.4	0.7	0.4	0.1	87.4	44.1
Iceland	1.0	2.0	- 1.0	0.2	0.2	70.0	268.0
Total EFTA	582.3	1,063.7	- 481.4	100.0	100.0	113.0	95.9

Source: Central Institute of Foreign Trade data, based on SAD documents

The above figures indicate that:

Poland's principal trade partner among EFTA countries is Sweden, which accounts for 33.3 percent of Polish exports and 29.4 percent of imports.

- Austria is second, with a 28.7 percent share in exports and 23.6 percent in imports. Together, Sweden and Austria account for 62 percent of exports and 48.5 percent of imports. These two countries account for a large part of Poland's negative balance of trade with EFTA countries—14.8 percent for Sweden and 17.6 percent for Austria. The scale of trade with Sweden and Austria, whose combined population is 16.6 million, is indicated by the fact that our exports to these two countries amount to \$360.9 million, and our imports from them, \$517.2 million.

Such a volume of trade is higher than with Great Britain (exports \$337.4 million and imports \$480.9 million) and

France (exports \$382.4 million and imports \$446.0 million), whose populations are 57.8 and 57.4 million, respectively.

- Finland, Switzerland, and Norway account for 37.4 percent of all Polish to EFTA countries and 51 percent of imports; the deficit in trade with these three countries totaled \$324.7 million, or 67.5 percent of all deficit in trade with the EFTA.

- Trade with Liechtenstein and Iceland is residual (0.6 percent of exports and 0.3 percent of imports), and moreover our exports to these countries declined and imports from the former dropped more than in half while imports from the latter increased by a factor of 2.7 times.

Polish exports to EFTA countries in the first half of 1994 increased by 13 percent and imports decreased by 4.1 percent. As a result our negative balance of trade with

the EFTA decreased to \$481.4 million at present from \$576.9 million in the first half of 1993, that is, by \$95.5 million.

Sweden

It is Poland's main partner among EFTA countries. Trade with that country is growing most rapidly, in terms of both exports and imports. It is characterized by a somewhat considerable diversity of commodities traded, both exported and imported, with a noticeable predominance of less processed goods in our exports. At the end of the first half of 1994 our trade deficit with Sweden amounted to \$71.4 million.

Exports—Principal Commodity Groups:

- Agricultural and food products: Frozen beef (\$5.5 million); molasses of sugar refining (\$2.8 million); frozen fruit (\$2.3 million); and powdered milk (\$1.3 million).
- Mineral products: Coal (\$19.3 million); sulfur (\$1.7 million); coke (\$1.4 million); and cement (\$1 million).
- Chemical products: Mineral fertilizers (\$1.2 million).
- Lumber and wood products: Debarked timber (\$4.4 million); sawn pine timber (\$2.2 million); plywood, fiberboard, and veneer (\$1.7 million); inlaid wood, wood mosaics, and boxes (\$1.1 million).
- Pulp, paper, and cardboard: Paperboard, boxes, and paper and cardboard containers (\$2.4 million); books and paper and brochures (\$1 million).
- Textile materials and products: Women's suits, men's and children's clothing (\$5.1 million); tourist clothing (\$2.4 million); and sweaters, jerseys, and pullovers (\$1.1 million).
- Base-metal products: Copper and copper products (\$8.3 million); iron and steel products, including angle bars and sections, steel structural elements, and iron and steel castings (\$6.3 million); and unprocessed lead (\$2.7 million).
- Products of the electrical machinery industry: Trucks (\$12.6 million); wire, cable, and conductors (\$2.1 million); pressing irons and electric heaters (\$1.6 million); electric motors (\$1.4 million); electrical connecting and insulating equipment (\$1.6 million); soldering and welding equipment (\$1.3 million); and ships (\$1.2 million).
- Miscellaneous manufactured goods: Furniture (\$10.6 million); lighting fixtures (\$2.5 million).

Imports—Principal Commodity Groups:

- Agricultural and food products: Food products not mentioned elsewhere (\$14.1 million); animal and plant fats and oils (\$2.8 million); refrigerated or frozen pork (\$1.3 million); and barley (\$1.2 million).

—Mineral products: Oils derived from crude petroleum (\$13.7 million); industrial carbon black (\$2.2 million); and zinc ores and concentrates (\$1.7 million).

—Chemical products: Plastic transportation and packaging articles (\$4.7 million); medicaments (\$2.2 million); ethylene polymers (\$2.1 million); paints, varnishes, and lacquers (\$1.5 million); and printing dye (\$1.1 million).

—Pulp, paper, and cardboard: Coated paper and cardboard (\$17.4 million); pulp (\$6.1 million); uncoated paper and paperboard (\$2.3 million); and cartons, boxes, and paper containers (\$1.3 million).

—Base-metal products: Rolled products (\$8.4 million); and aluminum plate (\$2 million).

—Products of the electrical machinery industry: Chassis and engines for motor vehicles (\$9.4 million); liquid and gas filtration equipment (\$6.5 million); automotive bodies and cabins (\$6 million); marine derricks (\$5.6 million); pneumatic tools (\$5 million); automotive parts and accessories (\$4.4 million); refrigerators and freezers (\$4.1 million); loading and unloading equipment (\$3.8 million); ball bearings (\$3 million); medical instruments and devices (\$2.9 million); internal combustion engines (\$2.7 million); tractors (\$2.7 million); and special-purpose machinery and equipment (\$2.7 million).

—Miscellaneous manufactured goods: Furniture (\$2 million).

Austria

Austria is the second, after Sweden, largest trade partner of Poland among the EFTA countries. Our exports to that country declined slightly (by 0.9 percent) while imports declined by 13.1 percent. This resulted in reducing our negative balance of trade with Austria to \$84.9 million at present from \$159.1 million in the first half of 1993, that is, by \$83 million.

Exports—Principal Commodity Groups:

- Agricultural and food products: Frozen fruit (\$3.2 million); molasses of sugar refining (\$1.6 million).
- Mineral products: Electrical energy (\$28.3 million); coal (\$22.9 million); coke (\$4.5 million); cement (\$1 million); and oils derived from crude petroleum (\$1 million).
- Chemical products: Synthetic rubber (\$2.8 million); nucleic acids (\$1.7 million); blood fractions, vaccines, and toxins (\$1.6 million); and styrene polymers (\$1.2 million).
- Lumber and wood products: Debarked timber (\$10.5 million); sawn pine timber (\$7.4 million); and other wood articles (\$2.2 million).

- Pulp, paper, and cardboard: Cartons, boxes, and paper containers (\$2.4 million); books and brochures (\$1 million).
- Textile materials and products: Suitings (\$1.2 million).
- Base-metal products: Iron and steel products (\$8.4 million); copper and copper products (\$4.6 million); unprocessed zinc (\$3 million); and unprocessed aluminum (\$1.5 million).
- Products of the electrical machinery industry: Trucks (\$12.6 million); passenger cars (\$2 million); electrical circuit connecting and insulating equipment (\$1.6 million); electric pressing irons (\$1.6 million); telephone and telegraph equipment (\$1.4 million); carbon electrodes (\$1.4 million); welding and soldering equipment (\$1.3 million); and ball bearings (\$1 million).
- Miscellaneous manufactured goods: Furniture (\$8.8 million); lighting fixtures (\$2.5 million).

Imports—Principal Commodity Groups:

- Agricultural and food products: Refrigerated or frozen pork (\$2.9 million); coffee (\$1.6 million); barley (\$1.2 million); and confectionery (\$1.1 million).
- Mineral products: Magnesium carbonate (\$1.4 million) and oils derived from crude petroleum (\$1 million).
- Chemical products: Plastic transportation and packaging materials (\$9.5 million); medicaments and pharmaceuticals (\$4.2 million); odorants (\$3.3 million); plastic board, sheets, and foils (\$2.9 million); tires (\$2.5 million); organic surface reactants (\$2.4 million); plastic films, foils, and tapes (\$1.9 million); and plastic pipe and ducts (\$1.7 million).
- Pulp, paper, and cardboard: Cartons, boxes, and paper containers (\$16 million); newspapers and illustrated periodicals (\$5.9 million); coated paper and cardboard (\$3.9 million); uncoated paper and cardboard (\$2.7 million); and cigarette paper (\$2.1 million).
- Base-metal products: Iron and steel products (\$9.3 million); aluminum foil (\$3.8 million); and metal fittings (\$1.2 million).
- Products of the electrical machinery industry: Special-purpose machinery and equipment (\$10 million); faucets, spigots, valves, and control fittings (\$5.4 million); pulpmaking machinery (\$5.1 million); telephone and telegraph equipment (\$4.4 million); trucks (\$4 million); soldering and welding equipment (\$3.9 million); food machinery (\$2.9 million); computer chips (\$2.1 million); medical instruments and devices (\$1.9 million); and passenger cars (\$1.3 million).
- Miscellaneous manufactured goods: Furniture (\$5.2 million) and lighting fixtures (\$1.2 million).

Finland

Finland is Poland's third largest trade partner among EFTA countries. Reciprocal trade is characterized by a considerable deficit for Poland (\$126.5 million), since the volume of imports from Finland is 2.4 times as high as the volume of exports to that country.

Exports:

Exports to Finland are not as diversified as to Sweden or Austria, and their scale is half as large. The principal commodities exported are coal and coke (\$22.9 and \$4.5 million, respectively); furniture (\$8.7 million); iron and steel products (\$7.2 million); frozen fruit (\$3.2 million); boxes and paper packagings (\$2.4 million); chlorates and perchlorates (\$2.2 million); and oils derived from crude petroleum (\$1 million).

Imports:

Imports from that country are much more diversified than exports to it and comprise: Cartons, boxes, and paper containers (\$16 million); paper and paperboard (\$10.5 million); special-purpose machinery and equipment (\$10 million); transmitting equipment for radio telephony and radio telegraphy (\$8.6 million); newspapers, dailies, and illustrated periodicals (\$5.9 million); rolled stainless-steel products (\$5.3 million); clad and coated sheet steel (\$4.1 million); central-heating devices (\$3 million); liquid pumps (\$2.3 million); computers (\$1.8 million); refrigerators and freezers (\$1.8 million); television sets (\$1.6 million); and passenger cars (\$1.3 million).

Switzerland

That country is Poland's fourth largest trade partner among EFTA countries. Reciprocal trade is to a marked disadvantage of Poland (deficit \$86.2 million), with imports [\$164.3 million] being more than double the exports to that market (\$78.1 million). Here it should be pointed out that this deficit persists owing to the stagnation in Polish exports to that market (which increased by only 0.9 percent compared with the first half of 1993), in the presence of an insignificant decline in imports.

Exports:

The principal commodities exported are: Silver (\$27 million); furniture (\$6.2 million); iron and steel products (\$5.2 million); clothing and accessories (\$3.8 million); electrical energy (\$2.4 million); passenger cars (\$2 million); power turbines (\$1.6 million); frozen fruit (\$1.5 million); and bandaging materials (\$1.4 million).

Imports:

The principal commodities imported are: Medicaments (\$25.8 million); special-purpose machinery and equipment (\$10 million); printing dyes (\$6.9 million); telephone and telegraph equipment (\$6.9 million); crop

protectants (\$6.2 million); food machinery (\$3.8 million); bottle-washing, bottle-drying, and bottling equipment (\$3.2 million); liquid and gas filtration equipment (\$3.2 million); steam turbines (\$2.4 million); research apparatus (\$1.6 million); orthopedic equipment (\$1.4 million); chocolate and chocolate products (\$1.3 million); and cigars and cigarettes (\$1.2 million).

Norway

Norway is Poland's fifth largest trade partner among EFTA countries. Trade with it is characterized by a considerable deficit on the Polish side (\$112 million). This is due to stiff payments for crude petroleum, of which Norway is one of main suppliers. Noteworthy, however, is the 30-percent increase in our exports to that country during the first half of this year.

Exports:

The principal commodities exported are: Coal and coke (\$8.5 million); spare parts for marine engines (\$4.2 million); oils derived from crude petroleum (\$3.6 million); ships (\$3.5 million); lumber and wood products (\$2.4 million); frozen fruit (\$2.5 million); steel structural elements (\$1.2 million); and clothing and accessories (\$1 million).

Imports:

In practice they are dominated by two commodities, namely, oils derived from crude petroleum, which we purchased for \$93 million, and fish and fish fillets (\$26 million). Of the other commodities imported, noteworthy are: Titanium ores and concentrates (\$2.9 million); machinery for processing rubber and plastics (\$2.7 million); spare parts for electrical machinery and equipment (\$2.3 million); ferroalloys (\$1.8 million); liquid pumps (\$1.6 million); and power generating sets (\$1.3 million).

Liechtenstein and Iceland

Together, these two countries account for \$3.1 million in Polish exports and \$3.4 million in imports, or 0.6

percent of Poland's exports to EFTA countries and 0.3 percent of its imports from that area.

Exports:

The commodities exported to Liechtenstein include: iron and steel products as well as confectionery, and to Iceland, certain food products.

Imports:

In Liechtenstein we purchased a broad variety of manufactured goods, and in Iceland fish and fish fillets. However, most of these transactions were minor, less than \$1 million in value each.

Conclusions

Given the above analysis of trade with EFTA countries, the following conclusions can be inferred:

—This trade is characterized by a considerable deficit on the Polish side. In the first half of 1993 this deficit amounted to 114 percent of the value of Polish exports, and at present it is 81.6 percent. This deficit is present in trade with all the countries [as published]. It is due to the underdevelopment of our country and its relatively limited diversification of products. Some improvement which took place in the second half of 1994 (13-percent increase in exports) was not uniform, since they it not extend to such important partners as Austria and Switzerland.

Another characteristic aspect of trade with EFTA countries is the predominance of raw materials and relatively unprocessed goods (coal, coke, electrical energy, lumber, metallurgical products, and nonferrous metals) in Polish exports. In contrast, our imports—other than those from Norway—are dominated by highly processed goods, especially by the broad range of products of the electrical machinery, papermaking, and chemical-pharmaceutical industries.

Iliescu Promotes SIE Intelligence Officers

AU2812165994 Bucharest *EVERIMENTUL ZILEI* in Romanian 23 Dec 94 p 16

[Article by Dan Andronic: "Three High-Ranking Officers From the Leadership of the Foreign Intelligence Service Have Been Promoted to the Rank of Lieutenant General"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Following the many promotions made in the intelligence services of the Armed Forces, the Ministry of Interior, and the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI] on the occasion of 1 December, Romania's national day, President Ion Iliescu has now promoted several officers from the Foreign Intelligence Service [SIE].

In addition to the two previous promotions that we duly reported at the time, (SIE Director Ioan Talpes promoted to the rank of lieutenant general and SIE Section Chief Gheorghe Toader promoted to the rank of major general) one should now add three further promotions of officers from the SIE leadership: Major General Victor Vasile Nanescu, Major General Tudor Constantin Silinescu (first deputy SIE director), and Major General Mihail Alexandru Tanasescu—all of whom were promoted to the rank of Lieutenant General.

These three new promotions complete the extremely rich picture of promotions occasioned by Romania's national day. In this respect, one might say that 1994 was an extremely profitable year for the Romanian intelligence services.

President Appoints New Supreme Court Chairman

AU2812171394 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In the presence of President Ion Iliescu, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, the presidents of the two chambers of parliament, and other high officials, a ceremony took place at Cotroceni Palace today at which Gheorghe Uglean was appointed chairman of the Supreme Court by presidential decree.

In a statement to our radio station, Mr. Uglean said he will try, together with his colleagues, to fulfill his prerogatives in accordance with the Constitution and the nation's laws, and to contribute to strengthening the spirit of justice and social equity. He also said he will strive to make the Supreme Court more efficient through legislative changes, in order to ensure uniform legal practices throughout the country.

Newspaper Journalists Called 'Scoundrels'

AU2812172894 Bucharest *EVERIMENTUL ZILEI* in Romanian 22, 23 Dec 94

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bucharest *EVERIMENTUL ZILEI* in Romanian on 22 December 1994 carries on pages 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, under the general headline "Back

To the Country of Lies—Five Years After the Manipulation in Romania," an extensive 12,000-word reportage on foreign media coverage of the December 1989 events and their aftermath. The daily quotes from French daily *LE MONDE*—"nobody cares about the revolution anymore"; from *EURONEWS*—"yesterday's revolutionaries are held responsible for the deterioration of the economic situation"; from *INFOMATIN*—"the Romanian revolution is the only Gorbachev scenario that succeeded in the East"; from Danish newspapers—"Scandinavia still questions the legitimacy of the current leadership in Romania"; Swiss Television—"the Romanian revolution is still a total enigma, a trap of televised manipulation"; and from the British daily *INDEPENDENT*—"10 days that fooled the world." The gist of all this material is that five years ago, the whole world rejoiced as Romania rose up to overthrow dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, but startling evidence has emerged in the meantime that "the revolution was not as it seemed."

Bucharest *EVERIMENTUL ZILEI* in Romanian on 23 December page 1 carries a 200-word article by Victor Bratu entitled: "In an Uncontrolled Outburst, Ion Iliescu Called Us, Those From *EVERIMENTUL ZILEI*, Scoundrels." The author writes that, on being shown—during a visit he was paying to the headquarters of Romanian Television in Bucharest on 22 December—the *EVERIMENTUL ZILEI* issue of that day, with its coverage of the anniversary of the December 1989 revolution, President Ion Iliescu "got red in the face and said, visibly irritated: 'This is unheard of! These people are doing nothing but damage to the country.'" Pointing to the newspaper, Iliescu is then quoted as saying: "These scoundrels are using the paper to slander the country, because that is what they are doing. This is slander against the country!" *EVERIMENTUL ZILEI* also quotes the official version of President Ion Iliescu's statements, as reported by *MEDIAFAX*: "President Ion Iliescu said that *EVERIMENTUL ZILEI* is a publication financed by hostile circles from inside the country and from abroad."

Press Office Denies Iliescu Has Health Problems

AU2812205394 Bucharest *EVERIMENTUL ZILEI* in Romanian 21 Dec 94 p3

[Article by Radu Tudor: "President Iliescu Was Taken Urgently to Elias Hospital"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At around 0800 [0600 GMT] yesterday morning, Romanian President Ion Iliescu was taken urgently to Elias Hospital, which belongs to the Ministry of National Defense. The reason for the president's visit to the hospital is his older problem, the acute gallbladder ailment he suffers from. It seems that the president suffered a new and pretty violent gallbladder attack yesterday morning, reason enough for him to be taken to the hospital. [passage omitted]

Doctor Alexandru Leu, the director of Elias Hospital, whom we contacted yesterday around 1230, was kind

enough to tell us the following: "President Ion Iliescu underwent a routine check-up yesterday morning, which lasted only 10 minutes. As is only normal, we are ignoring his position, and, since he is a former patient of ours, we are checking him over for the problems he had last summer. This is the end of the year and it is only natural for President Ion Iliescu to have a routine check-up. I can assure you that President Iliescu's overall health is good."

Despite all these assurances, we ourselves have a different opinion, due to information received from our sources at Cotroceni Palace. [passage omitted]

A communique released yesterday by the president's press office, reads as follows:

"As usual, EVENIMENTUL ZILEI has launched a new 'balloon' about the state of President Ion Iliescu's health. We wish to let it know that President Iliescu has no health problems and that he is carrying out his normal activities."

Funar Denounces 'Coup' With Foreign Participation

AU2812180794 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 19 Dec 94 p 4

[Article by Iulian Chifu: "Gheorghe Funar Accuses Ion Iliescu of Nicolae Ceausescu's Assassination"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During a news conference held on the occasion of an impromptu visit to Iasi last Friday and Saturday [16-17 December], Gheorghe Funar, president of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR], clearly stated that a "coup d'etat, with the participation of foreign, Soviet, and Hungarian secret services" took place in Romania on 22 December 1989.

On the same occasion, the PUNR leader accused President Ion Iliescu and the strongmen of the moment of "mocking the Romanian people, by assassinating Romania's leader [Nicolae Ceausescu] on Christmas Day and destabilizing the political situation in the country."

Liberal Groups Form New 'Civic Liberal Alliance'

AU2812202194 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] A protocol on the unification of the main political groups liberal orientation was signed in Bucharest this afternoon by the leaders of the respective parties: Mr. Nicolae Manolescu, president of the Civic Alliance Party [PAC]; Messrs. Horia Rusu and Dinu Patriciu, leaders of the Liberal Party '93 [PL'93]; Mr. Mircea Ionescu-Quintus, president of the National Liberal Party [PNL]; and Mr. Nicolae Cerveni, president of the National Liberal Party-Democratic Convention [PNL-CD].

The first article of the protocol on the establishment of the new Civic-Liberal Alliance, which was generically called The Liberals, stipulates that the Alliance aims at unifying the liberal movement in Romania as soon as possible within a single liberal party.

At the end of the meeting, Mr. Nicolae Manolescu said, quote: As of today, the Civic Liberal Alliance no longer consists of two members but four. A notification protocol—a kind of nonaggression pact—was also signed. In the opinion of the PAC president, this pact will end the more or less principled polemics among the four parties.

Mircea Ionescu-Quintus said the new alliance will continue its activity within the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR], so as to make a contribution to enhancing the unity and effectiveness of the opposition vis-a-vis the current government.

Along the same order of ideas, Dinu Patriciu emphasized that the Civic-Liberal Alliance set up today is an extremely positive event, since it aims at uniting all the liberal parties in Romania as soon as possible within a single liberal party.

According to our correspondent, Nicolae Cerveni said the liberal alliance is a sure and powerful instrument for the unification of the opposition on its road to power and in the struggle against crypto-Communism.

Karadzic: Serbs Ready To Sign Cease-Fire*LD2912123894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1210 GMT 29 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Pale, 29 Dec (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, has stated that he is ready to sign an agreement on a four-month cease-fire in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina "as of today".

While General Michael Rose, the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] commander for Bosnia, was having talks with General Ratko Mladic, commander-in-chief of the army of the Serb republic, Karadzic stated that the Serbs are close to agreement on a cease-fire on the basis of which the "blue helmets" will be deployed between the positions of the army of the Srpska republic and forces controlled by the Muslim government in Sarajevo.

Meanwhile, the Muslim government has announced that it rejects talks on a four-month cease-fire while its forces in Bihac are under attack from the army of Muslim autonomist Fikret Abdic and, it claims, Serb units. [passage omitted]

Krajisnik Expects Details on Peace Plan Changes*LD2812215794 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1958 GMT 28 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—Momcilo Krajisnik, the speaker of the people's assembly of the Srpska republic [RS], hinted in a statement for SRNA this evening that the assembly would most likely request from the Contact Group to give details about the changes to the plan for the former Bosnia-Herzegovina (BH), so that deputies could vote for or against the continuation of the negotiation process.

Both the public and deputies would most certainly devote the greatest attention to "a report on the mediating mission of former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, the cease-fire agreement, and the draft agreement on the cessation of hostilities in the former BH," said Krajisnik ahead of tomorrow's session of the RS parliament in Pale.

According to Krajisnik, a debate on the assembly's performance this year also deserved special attention.

"The 48th session was convened with the aim of resolving all the issues that were scrapped from the agenda of the previous two or three sessions, because of debates on the introduction of a legal document concerning the immediate risk of war," the speaker of the Srpska republic parliament specified.

Commenting on the fate of legal documents adopted in order to regulate the state of war in part of the Srpska republic territory, i.e. in the zone under the responsibility of the 2d Krajina corps, Krajisnik expressed hope that they would be suspended as soon as possible, depending on the situation on the ground.

"If an agreement on the cessation of hostilities is signed, there will be no reason to maintain the state of war in the Bihac and Krupa areas," said the speaker of the Srpska republic parliament, adding that the state of immediate risk of war must remain in effect until the final peace agreement is signed.

Krajisnik announced that tomorrow's assembly debate will also include a report on the aggression of the Croatian Army and the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] against the north-western borders of the Srpska republic.

UN Spokesman: Abdic Accepts Cease-Fire*AU2912094894 Paris AFP in English 0928 GMT 29 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 29 (AFP)—Dissident Bosnian Moslem leader Fikret Abdic in the Bihac pocket has "verbally accepted" a ceasefire signed last week by the Bosnian Government and Serbs, a UN spokesman said Thursday [29 December]. But UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Alexander Ivanko stressed that Abdic had not signed the ceasefire which came into force Saturday for a period of seven days and four months.

"Right now it is a verbal agreement," he said.

The UN Bosnian commander General Michael Rose visited the Moslem pocket of Bihac in northwest Bosnia Wednesday and had separate meetings with Abdic and his antagonist in the fighting, Bosnian Army General Atif Dudakovic. Rose proposed a freeze in confrontation lines in the enclave, which Abdic accepted but Dudakovic said he had to consult with his superiors.

Ivanko said the ceasefire was being broadly respected Thursday morning in Bihac, except for "some isolated incidents" in the Velika Kladusa sector, Abdic's stronghold.

Fighting between the Bosnian Army and Abdic's forces, helped by Croatian Serbs from neighbouring Krajina, had continued since the ceasefire arranged by former US President Jimmy Carter came into force on December 24, according to Sarajevo.

Bosnian sources said Dudakovic was ready to accept Rose's proposal for a freeze on condition that Serbs from Croatia withdrew, but needed to consult with his superiors.

Ivanko also announced that General Rose did not intend to go to Knin, main city of the self-proclaimed Serb republic of Krajina, Thursday. He had dropped plans to go there Wednesday because of bad weather, but UN sources said Wednesday night that he might make the trip Thursday.

Ivanko said "He has no plans for today."

UN Spokesman Says Cease-Fire Holding

LD2812200094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1909
GMT 28 Dec 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 28 (TANJUG)—The ceasefire in Bosnia-Herzegovina is holding, United Nations spokesman in Sarajevo Alexander Ivanko said Wednesday [28 December].

International news agencies quoted Ivanko as saying although there were small-scale violations of the cease-fire, Bosnian Serbs and Muslims showed maximum restraint and observed all provisions in the ceasefire agreement.

Bosnian Serbs and Muslims on Friday signed separate agreements on a seven-day ceasefire throughout Bosnia that took effect Saturday noon.

The ceasefire should be the guiding point in the talks between Bosnian Serbs and Muslims on a four-month cessation of hostilities, to which the two sides agreed during the recent visit of Former United States President Jimmy Carter.

U.N. spokesman Maj. Koos Sol said military activity dropped by 90 percent compared to that on Dec. 23, before the ceasefire took effect.

International news agencies also said the U.N. Protection Force [UNPROFOR] had only reported sporadic exchange of fire near the northwestern Bosnian towns of Bihac and Velika Kladusa.

AFP, however, quoted Muslim-held Radio Sarajevo as saying Muslim troops of moderate Muslim politician Fikret Abdic and those of the Sarajevo Muslim government stepped up military activity in the Bihac region.

The ASSOCIATED PRESS news agency quoted the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA as saying the inter-Muslim fighting intensified in the region of the northwestern Bosnian town of Cazin. SRNA also said fierce fighting had broken out south of Velika Kladusa, and said Abdic's troops were advancing toward Bihac.

Abdic and his followers declared independence of the autonomous province of west Bosnia in northwestern Bosnia-Herzegovina in the latter half of 1993, opposing Izetbegovic's war-oriented policy.

U.N. spokesman Thant Myiant said earlier Wednesday that UNPROFOR Commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina Lt. Gen. Michael Rose was in the Bihac area where he was to visit the Bangladeshi peacekeeping battalion.

Myiant said Rose was also to meet with Atif Dudakovic, commander of the Sarajevo Muslim government Fifth Corps, and said it was yet uncertain whether he would meet with Abdic.

Army: Violations in Bihac

AU2812202594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Since the cease-fire was signed, the aggressor has not stopped his combat activities in the Bihac region, reports the Press Center of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

With small arms and artillery, the aggressor acted on all defense lines held by the fighters of the 5th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and populated places in the region and mostly at the Grmusk-Srbijanski and Grabez plateaus and the free territories of the Velika Kladusa municipality.

In the region of Velika Kladusa, the aggressor from the occupied territories of the Republic of Croatia reinforced by traitors from Abdic's paramilitary attempted two infantry assaults following fierce artillery preparation. Both assaults have been repelled and the enemy suffered great losses in manpower.

Units of the 5th Corps of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina respond to the aggressor's cease-fire violations only in the case of a direct threat to the units and the free territory in the theater of operations of this corps.

'Provocations' in Bihac

AU2912114294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 29 Dec 94

[Report by Muhamed Mulic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] There was no peace overnight and this morning in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps theater of operations, particularly [words indistinct] occupied Croatian areas. Frequent aggressor small arms and antiaircraft provocations were reported on all fronts, particularly around the Bihac safe area in the region of Zegar, Debeljaca Hill, Vedro Polje, Izatic, and Bugar. Numerous explosions of shells have been reported on all front lines since yesterday, particularly in the area of the Bosanska Krupa municipality where the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army defense was exposed to fierce combined infantry-artillery attack that was successfully repelled.

Sporadic provocations were also reported on the Grmusk-Srbijanski and Grabez plateaus, which were accompanied by the shelling of the forward front lines. Fighting also continued around Velika Kladusa with Fikret Abdic's paramilitary forces and Martić's chetniks. Unless urgent measures are undertaken in this, at the moment most sensitive part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, to stop attacks from the area of the so-called Serbian Krajina and provocations and attacks carried out by Karadžić's chetniks, the already implemented cease-fire could be threatened, thus calling into question further negotiations on a cessation of hostilities.

Muslims Said Violating Cease-Fire

LD2812234694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2334
GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 28 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Muslim forces on Wednesday [28 December] violated the ceasefire agreement, the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA reported from Sarajevo. The news agency said Muslim forces had opened sniper and small arms fire at Bosnian Serb positions and settlements around Sarajevo. The Bosnian Serb army said in a statement that its forces had not returned fire.

On Wednesday, Croatian and Bosnian Muslim forces fired from artillery weapons and small arms on Serb positions in Herzegovina. The ceasefire agreement was also violated around the Mt. Ozren and the town of Doboj in northern Bosnia, SRNA quoted the Bosnian Serb army statement as saying. The ceasefire was reached last Friday through the mediation of United Nations envoy Yasushi Akashi and went into effect on Saturday.

Rose, Dudakovic Comment

AU2812172694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Dec 94

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] After three attempts, General Michael Rose has finally arrived in the UN protected zone of Bihac where he held talks with his hosts about the latest signed truce and [word indistinct] of its implementation in this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is what he said after the talks in Bihac:

[Begin Rose recording in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] I have come here to talk with Gen. Dudakovic about the cease-fire agreement and the way it (?can be) implemented in the region on Velika Kladusa. Unfortunately, there were some violations of this cease-fire agreement, not exactly here, but in the region of Bosanska Krupa. Gen. Dudakovic is going to consult with his (?commanders) on what I discussed with him.

Of course, I can comment on (?that), I condemn any cease-fire violation and am doing my best to reach peace. [end recording]

In the talks today, Brigadier Atif Dudakovic, commander of the 5th Corps of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, said the following:

[Begin Dudakovic recording] [word indistinct] Gen. Rose arrived at the 5th Corps Command at about 1200 and was informed about the situation in the region, that is the theater of operations of the 5th Corps. The cease-fire agreement between the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the so-called Serb republic [word indistinct] President Izetbegovic, Karadzic, Gen. Delic, and Mladic of 24 [words indistinct] respected,

because recently, as well as today, the [word indistinct] aggressor on several occasions violated the signed agreement. [word indistinct] was (?signed) about a cease-fire that would be on trial for seven days, so that a four-month agreement on cease of hostilities would be signed. The very agreement would represent a basis for the implementation of the Contact Group plan. However, the public should know that the [word indistinct] cease-fire agreement on the level of Bosnia-Herzegovina is [word indistinct] above all for the situation in our Bihac Region, on its Western borders. Thus, the aim of Gen. Rose's visit is to somehow agree a cease-fire also on the western section of our battlefield, above all with Fikret Abdic's paramilitary forces and with the chetnik forces from the Serbian autonomous region [SAO] of Krajina. We demanded of [word indistinct] that the forces of the SAO of Krajina, being aggressors, should withdraw to the state borders of the Republic of Croatia, that is, should leave the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We do not consider Fikret Abdic's paramilitary forces to be [word indistinct] forces, but a constituent part of the Serbian army, because they are under the command of the Serbian army of Krajina and Serbian officers, [words indistinct], so that they represent a united army that carried out an aggression on our territory.

In any case, we did not [word indistinct] a special solution or agreement and Gen. Rose has left toward Velika Kladusa, and I do not know whether [words indistinct] [end recording]

Let us add here that the truce was not respected during (Rose's) visit to Bihac, and particularly on the Bosanska Krupa section of the front, where [words indistinct] small-arms fire, and the Velika Kladusa section of the front where Martić's Chetniks have not stopped their attacks since this morning.

Muslim Soldiers Reportedly Train in Slovenia

LD2812180794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in
Serbo-Croatian 1624 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—According to Srpska republic representatives, Muslim military conscripts from former Bosnia-Herzegovina are being trained in at least three camps in Slovenia.

This was said by members of the 5th Muslim Corps loyal to Alija Izetbegovic who were captured in the Bihac area. According to Srpska republic representatives, this confirmed earlier reports obtained by the Serb side from various sources.

The imprisoned members of the 5th Muslim Corps said that they "had special military training in camps of Siska near Ljubljana, Tezno near Maribor, and Studenica in Pohorje." [passage omitted]

After completing their training in Slovenia, the imprisoned soldiers claim, they received "the necessary equipment and new documents" which enabled them to

"arrive in Bihac in an organized manner via secret channels" from where they were "sent to the 5th Corps units."

Imprisoned Muslim soldiers trained in Slovenia also revealed many other important details. Among other things they said that from now on the activity of their specially trained fellow nationals will not be limited to operations in former Bosnia-Herzegovina but will "spread to other areas too."

Croatian Leader on Cadre Issues, Carter Mission

*LD2812193694 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosna
in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 28 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The guest of our Srijedom u Srijedu program today was Jadranko Prlic, prime minister of the Croat republic of Herzeg-Bosna and deputy prime minister and defense minister of the Bosnia-Herzegovina federation. Mr. Prlic answered a number of questions by our editor Mijo Kelava. We have selected several excerpts for our bulletin. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Kelava] While observing political events, especially the federation's government and assembly sessions, for instance in Zenica, we have come across unnecessary disagreements, not to say confrontations. These concerned several legal documents, and the point of it all was to coordinate all legal documents and harmonize all institutions with those of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republic. In this connection we also witnessed hasty demands on the part of the Bosniak Muslim side to replace Mr. Zubak as president of the federation. What is your view about all this and how would you comment on it?

[Prlic] Talking about cadre issues, we should examine these in two ways. The first concerns procedural issues, which is unimportant given what consequences this would have for the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is unacceptable that all functions of importance for the status of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republic, which is in the period of transition into a new state and legal framework—which has not yet been completely defined—should be carried out by representatives of the Bosniak Muslim people including the post of the president of the federation presidency, the prime minister, and the defense minister. This is out of the question.

[Kelava] You are also the defense minister in the federation. We have already said that and the public is aware of the latest successful actions by the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] on the Kupres, Livno, and Grahovo fronts. We would like to ask you a question about the announced signing of the cease-fire agreement between the Serb and Bosniak Muslim sides, but without consultations with the Croat side, under the aegis of former U.S. President Jimmy Carter. What do you think about it?

[Prlic] I have said that the mission of former U.S. President Carter was a private mission, it carries no official weight for me. But should it yield fruit, I will respect it. The cease-fire was signed between representatives of the Bosniak Muslim and Serbian people, i.e. between the Srpska republic army and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republic Army. There are no signatures on it of either the HVO or officials representing the Croatian people in the federation or in the Croat republic of Herzeg-Bosna, and as far as we are concerned this agreement has no legal consequences. [end recording]

Monitoring of Arms Withdrawal Held Up

LD2812154194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1452 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Erdut, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—The UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] has not managed to monitor the withdrawal of troops and heavy weaponry from the separation zone because the Croatian side has failed to let UN monitors enter this zone, Phillip Corwin, UN coordinator for civilian affairs in Sector East, told TANJUG today.

The separation zone, covering an area of 1.5 miles along either side of the separation line, was occupied by both sides shortly after NATO aircraft bombarded Udbina Air Base.

At a meeting held on 23 December at the border crossing of Sarvas-Nemetin, Major General Dusan Loncar, commander of the Slavonija-Baranja Corps of the Serb army of Krajina, and Maj. Gen. Djuro Decak, commander of the Osijek mobilization area, agreed that all their units should withdraw from this area by 27 December so UNPROFOR can monitor compliance with this agreement.

Neither yesterday nor today did the Croatian side allow this to happen.

The Croatian refusal to enable UN military observers to monitor the demilitarization of the separation zone will most certainly delay implementation of the remaining two phases in the withdrawal of troops and heavy weaponry which were agreed at the meeting between Generals Loncar and Decak.

In the first phase, both sides are expected to withdraw their tanks at least 10 km from the separation line—as envisaged under the Zagreb cease-fire agreement of 29 March 1994. UNPROFOR should carry out this part of the agreement tomorrow, 29 December.

At the Sarvas-Nemetin border crossing it was agreed that both sides should withdraw their heavy artillery 20 km from the separation line, something that would restore the positions prior to the bombardment of Udbina Air Base.

Martić: Krajina Complies With Highway Agreement

LD2812232094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2256 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Knin, Serb Krajina, Dec. 28 (TANJUG)—Serb Krajina President Milan Martić said Wednesday Serb Krajina had fully complied with the provisions of the agreement on reopening the Zagreb-Belgrade highway.

In a letter to special U.N. envoy to the former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi, Martić said that Croatia was trying to interpret the agreement in a way which essentially concerned political issues. Martić said it was both

unnecessary and harmful to insist on something that existed neither in spirit nor letter of the agreement, and might jeopardize everything achieved to date.

The Zagreb-Belgrade highway, which passes through the territory of the republic of Serb Krajina, was reopened on Wednesday last week after three years, under an agreement on economic relations signed separately in Zagreb and Knin on Dec. 2. The highway was closed after Croatia violently seceded from the former Yugoslav federation in the summer of 1991.

Serbs in Croatia set up their own state, the republic of Serb Krajina, in 1991, after Croatia launched a war of secession from the former Yugoslavia and removed Serb national rights from the Croatian Constitution. Croatian forces attacked Krajina but were largely driven back. The territory of Serb Krajina, with the town of Knin as its capital, was placed under United Nations protection in the spring of 1992, but has since been the target of four new Croatian military offensives.

Zagreb and Knin opened direct negotiations in March and have since signed a ceasefire agreement, but the most sensitive issue—political relations—is yet to be broached.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman drove down the highway through Serb Krajina on Tuesday en route for the town of Slavonski Brod in Zagreb-controlled eastern Croatia.

Speaking at a rally in Slavonski Brod on Tuesday, Tudjman said Croatia was determined to subdue Serb Krajina, by doing everything 'that any state does in order to regain sovereignty on its territory' if peaceful methods failed.

'Just as we have come down the highway from Zagreb to Slavonski Brod today, so shall we soon be coming down by train, and from Zagreb to Split via Knin,' he said.

Chamber of Deputies Approves 1995 State Budget

LD2812193794 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Chamber of Deputies of the Croatian parliament this evening, by a majority of votes, approved the state budget for the coming year. The government's draft budget was the main item on the agenda of special sessions of both chambers. While the Chamber of Counties supported the government's draft budget of 28.6 billion kuna from day one, the Chamber of Deputies debated the document for a full four days.

Tudjman Holds Talks With Greek Opposition Leader

LD2812152094 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, has received in the Presidential Palace Miltiadhis Evert, chairman of New Democracy and leader of the Greek parliamentary opposition.

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Also present were special presidential envoy Ambassador Miomir Zuzul; Dr. Ivica Mastruko, ambassador of the Republic of Croatia in Athens; Dr. Ivic Pasalic, the president's adviser on internal policy; (Petra Nagus and Yasova), foreign policy advisers of Miltiadhis Evert; and (Anica Djamic), assistant to the president's foreign policy adviser.

There was discussion of the possibilities of a peaceful solution to the crisis in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and of the process of normalization of Croatian-Serbian relations. New Democracy Chairman Evert set out an idea which, according to him, has already been accepted by some countries—Greece, Bulgaria, and Romania. It relates to the mutual recognition of states which have emerged out of the former Yugoslavia and neighboring countries. According to this idea, these countries should issue a joint statement on the mutual recognition of internationally recognized borders. New Democracy Chairman Evert supports the normalization of Croatian-Serbian relations and believes that this is in the interests of the countries of southeastern Europe.

President Tudjman stressed that Croatia is requesting that Belgrade recognize Croatia in its internationally recognized borders. The president repeated the stance

that Croatia will cancel the UN Protection Force's [UNPROFOR] mandate unless a start is made to implementing the economic agreement with rebel Serbs in Croatia.

There was also discussion of Greek-Croatian relations. The president stressed that Croatia is very interested in the best possible relations with Greece in all fields.

UN Soldiers Stranded in Italy Arrive in Split

LD2912102094 Rome RAI Televideo Teletext in Italian 0910 GMT 29 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The 121 Malay soldiers of the UN contingent who had been stranded in the Italian port of Ancona after one of their number contracted meningitis, have arrived in Split. They will operate in the Sarajevo area where they will join Canadian troops.

The contingent arrived in Split on board the ship *Kraljica Mira*. Last Monday, the ship's captain and owner refused to let the Malay soldiers embark although they had received the all-clear from the Italian health authorities. Meanwhile, the condition of the soldier who is in the hospital in Ancona suffering from infectious meningitis is improving.

Union Leader Warns of Labor Unrest in 1995*AU2812172794 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 27 Dec 94
p 4*

[Report by "Gj.V.": "Increased Pressure From Trade Unions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The present social tensions, it seems, are just the logical end of a very difficult year, above all for the workers. At the same time, they herald another such year, and in order for it not to be even more difficult, there are many problems that need solving. Tactics and postponements should be avoided, and an open agreement should be reached with the three social partners (the Trade Unions, Chamber of Commerce, and government). However, there will be sharp conflicts between the authorities, on the one side, and the workers and the Trade Unions, on the other. This briefly is the summary of the speech of the president of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] Zivko Tolevski at yesterday's traditional New Year's news conference.

On this occasion, he reviewed the more important events and activities of the trade unions, with special emphasis on the economic situation, where the fall in production has caused extremely serious problems that have put at stake the existence of a large number of workers. That is why the questions needing the most urgent solution are: A sharp increase in production, payment of salaries, determination of the minimum wage, provision of minimum social security, appropriate privatization, the problem of unemployment.... Actually, as Tolevski said, these are the main questions that the Alliance for Macedonia promised to solve in its election campaign. It is true that the Trade Unions of Macedonia did not take the given opportunities, but if an agreement in favor of the workers is not reached, 1995 will be the year of increased trade unionist and workers' pressure, Tolevski stated.

He did not fail to strongly criticize the authorities, which Tolevski considers the "main protagonist" in the uncontrolled plunder, as well as in not respecting the laws (he recalled the latest lack of respect for the Constitutional Court decision on abolishing green cards [special health security cards]) and in failing to organize a rule-of-law state.

Unions Threaten Protest*AU2912091794 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 28 Dec 94
p 4*

[Report by "V.M.": "Changes or Mass Protests"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Confederation of Trade Unions of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] [SSM] has kept its critical stance concerning the law on transformation of state companies and some solutions to difficulties with it. Yesterday's SSM session was just another attempt to attract the

attention of the now "old-new" government, as trade unionists call it, to their stances, with the purpose of making some changes in the law. Arguments for presenting this "old pain," as Rifat Jursit, deputy president of the SSM, said in his introductory speech on the mentioned changes, have been derived from the previous practice that has confirmed that we are only at a starting position in the process of privatization. Namely, the law did not produce the expected results—neither in the area of sales nor in the restructuring, let alone in the economic development. "On the contrary," Jursit said, "opposite effects have been achieved: The process has been blocked and thus it has become possible for state capital to go to private hands in different ways. Individuals and groups are exerting expropriation over an enormous number of workers and citizens in Macedonia in the roughest and the most blatant way. That is why there is a great revolt among the workers and it has not become dramatic only because of the activities of the trade union organizations."

However, if the present authority continues to ignore the needs of the workers, that is if it does not agree with the changes proposed by the SSM, the SSM will organize and lead the biggest mass protest of workers that has ever been organized. This, as Zivko Tolevski, president of the SSM, concluded, "represents a warning to the government that has been told very openly that it will be responsible for the consequences of such an action if it does not make concessions and meet the workers' requests concerning the Macedonian law on privatization that has been shown to be inapplicable."

Here are the proposed changes and annexes: The basis of the solutions should include elements of a mass, in addition to the so-called paid privatization, and that implies free shares for the workers up to 20 percent of the total shares and 15 percent of the capital to be used for solving positions of workers that will remain without a job after privatization, with the purpose of finding new employment. Citizens should be included in this process on the basis of their previous labor, regardless of the job that they had been performing, as well as independent decisionmaking of the workers instead of purchasing discounts for a part or for the whole capital in objects used for social standard [rest homes, hotels, and so on] that have been constructed with their own money.

According to the trade unionists, there should be no possibility of disposing of the total capital after buying-off 10 or 20 percent because they think that this decision is not only unconstitutional, but it is also economically unjustified, because it can serve as a motive for selling off the companies in a short time instead of having a long term development. Because of the known situation with the salaries, the workers are not able to buy shares and that is why they ask possibilities for doing it through credits. Another request is to include SSM representatives in all bodies that are engaged in the process of privatization (from companies to the Privatization Agency), as well as a completed legal system for the

management and decisionmaking in companies that should necessarily accompany this process.

A sharp tone was also used at yesterday's session in connection with salaries and irregular payments, in connection with the minimum wage and minimum material and social security. "The workers," Tolevski underlined, "have obtained authorization for protests from the SSM," and he also announced that pressure would be applied "from all sides." He also recommended that there would not be any workers facing redundancy if there were not appropriate solutions for their material and social security. "The workers are not numbers," Tolevski said, "and if this government wants to keep its position, it will have to offer solutions on a social plan, too."

University Seen Showing Split Among Albanians

AU2812133494 Skopje PULS in Macedonian 23 Dec 94
pp 14-15

[Commentary by Natasa Dokovska and Vladimir Jovanovski: "Policemen and 'Freshmen'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] While the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] delegates were voting for or against the new government, Mr Geert Ahrens [European Union official, deputy cochairman of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia] was visiting the country. The declared purpose: To help to solve the problems of inter-ethnic relations, particularly the question of education; to indicate for whom and to what limit this could go and whether or not Macedonia needs an Albanian-language university. After his discussions in Tetovo, Ahrens did not come out in public with any advice, at least not for the Macedonians. All the discussions, as we could find out, were held with representatives of the Albanian nationality behind closed doors, the doors behind which Tetovo "university" was proclaimed open at 1900 hours on 16 December. It was in the center of the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] headquarters. This was a location that a couple of hours before that Arben Djaferi had announced as a place of immunity in which the "repressive forces" of the country could not enter and stop the solemn act.

According to some announcements, the proclamation of the illegal university was scheduled for Saturday, 17 December. In fact, it happened unexpectedly a day earlier, on Friday evening. At first everybody was surprised—the public, the press, (except the daily FLAKA, whose Tetovo correspondent was on the spot and the first to break the news of the opening), and the police, which, as if it had not known anything, nearly totally "occupied" the town and the roads to the town in order to prevent the gathering of the Founding Council. However, our sources claim that the authorities knew perfectly well that the proclamation would not be on Saturday, but on Friday. Confirmation of this is the mass presence in Tetovo of police vans filled with "cops" and

specials on that famous Friday night. Most of them were located just in front of the PDP headquarters where the ceremony was already in progress, and it is hard to believe that they had no idea of what was going on right in front of their noses. Moreover, just after the end of the ceremony, a large number of those attending were taken to the police station for questioning. These included members of the Executive Board Murtezani Ismail, Agni Dika, and Miftar Ziberi; some journalists of TV ART: Artan Skenderi and Ramadan Sinani; the lawyer of the "Tacists": Muhamed Jusufi, as well as some representatives of the NDP [People's Democratic Party]: Zenim Bekiri and Sefa Osmani. Allegedly, the courier team of RILINDJA from Tirana that was supposed to transfer the video cassettes from the meeting to a safe place was beaten up. (In spite of that, one video cassette was smuggled through the police control and it crossed the western border).

Whether the police knew it or not, however, the illegal founding of the Tetovo university was done. The signers of the declaration are: President of the Founding Council Fadil Sulejmani, Professor Agni Dika, Professor Murtezani Ismaili, deputy chairman of the Macedonian Assembly and PDP leader Abdurahman Aliti, the NDP head Iljaz Halimi, as well as Kenan Mazlumi, Milami Fejziu, and Mukereme Rusi, a representative of the Association of Albanian Women. It was also signed by the chairman of the communal assemblies of Debar Kemal Djafa, of Gostivar, Enver Zenku, of Tetovo, Sakir Haliti, as well as by some former ministers in the Macedonian Government and members of the new government.

The public, let us not say street promotion of the newly formed Albanian university was done in a surprisingly peaceful manner. The first to come to the entrance of the Communal Assembly were NDP leaders Iljaz Halimi, Bedredin Ibrahim, and Mersel Biljali, who were later joined by former president of "Prosperity" Nevzat Halili, while the loudest applause was given to the late-comers, to the "patriots" Taci and Djaferi (we could notice the absence of PDP representatives. Only delegate Sefedin Haruni was present from this party—probably or his own initiative—and he is one of the hardest members of the largest Albanian party). After a few short speeches by the politicians, the mass of people marched through Tetovo for half an hour and then dispersed.

FLAKA carried an advertisement saying that on Tuesday, 20 December, applications for the first school year would be accepted. During our second visit to Tetovo, on Tuesday, there was nothing new. In the headquarters of the radicals and the PDP nobody knew anything about the "Tetovo university" case. They are unanimous in saying that their political mission has been completed. Now they are leaving the job to the professors and the university senate, which sees its challenge in the pen and notebook. There are no signs of the professors in Tetovo, at least so it seemed. We found out that unrecognized rector Fadil Sulejmani is in Skopje, and

the others do not want to speak. The building of the "rector's offices" is still sealed, and the advertising is in preparation. Until when—probably only they know.

There is the impression that following the culmination of the passions on Friday and Saturday in connection with the founding of the Albanian university emotions have now subsided. This conclusion was stated on Saturday by Interior Minister Ljubomir Frckovski. Intensely mocking and unbearably cynical, the minister once again described his political opponents' activities as flat balloons, stillborns, birthday parties, and so on. The reactions of the Macedonians from the western part of the state have also stopped. It seems that the Albanian politicians are not so loud any more. The radicals Taci and Djaferi say their role in the opening of the university has been completed. At the NDP they told us that they were aware that the opening of the university would not find widespread support at first. They even agreed that the Albanian side had used very harsh words—"if there is not a university, there will be hell"—which unnecessarily raised the temperature with the other side. Some people in the PDP diffidently admit that the timing was perhaps not right for such an urgent and fierce promotion of the idea for the founding of an Albanian university in Macedonia.

If one has the impression that there has been a gentle withdrawal in the urgent revival of the whole initiative, which could easily be proved to be not the case, then the issue of internal relations in the Albanian political fabric again becomes topical after these latest events. Although the Albanians were unanimous in their support for the opening of the university, some details destroy the image of an all-Albanian political and educational idyll. First, the PDP leaders unquestionably dissociated themselves from the Saturday rally in front of the Tetovo Assembly, in which the main star to lead the masses through Tetovo was Arben Djaferi. Rudi Osmani, a delegate from the ranks of the "patriots" assessed this in the following words: "You see, there are some Albanians who consider ministerial and parliamentary chairs as the most important of all." On the other hand, in the PDP they claim that the declaration on the founding of the university was not signed by those that were verbally the loudest in pledging an ethnic university in Tetovo—the so-called "patriots." The "patriots" say this accusation is cheap political propaganda. For some of those in the know this confrontation on the Albanian scene is not as naive and coincidental as it seems. According to them, it is a question of the continuation of the serious struggle between the two main groups, which can be identified as the left and right wing, to attract supporters among the Albanian population. They are now personified in the present deputy chairman of the Macedonian Assembly Abdurahman Aliti and the strengthening and more authoritative Arben Djaferi, who, by the way, has nearly succeeded in completely replacing his party colleague Menduh Taci. One of the issues that these two groups are fighting about at the moment is who deserves the credit for the opening of the illegal university.

The question is: Who has contributed more to the affirmation of this idea—the Albanians who are participating in the ruling authorities or those outside. The events in Struga Assembly three days ago, when almost half the Albanian deputies left the PDP and became "independent" (read: They crossed over to Djaferi), show that even at a time when they seem to be homogeneous, the political divisions among the Albanians are still very much an issue.

Interethnic Relations Deteriorating in Tetovo

AU2812122994 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in
Macedonian 24 Dec 94 p 16

[Commentary by Panta Dzambazoski: "Where are the Marbles and Chapped Fingers?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The days just before famous 17 December were too quiet and peaceful in Tetovo. The inhabitants were in a state of expectation—what would happen?

The town functioned normally, as did the market, bus station, shops, and all the other locations where the various nationalities meet. There were no discussions about the idea of a group of professors. Other locations, like restaurants, shops, sports associations...the headquarters of various other associations and parties...were also working normally. Normally, the way they have been for years and years. There was no national interference and there were many discussions on the mentioned and on other similar subjects. There were many, many words, but no passion.

"In Tetovo, lately, interethnic discussions have been held just like that, by habit, but without a real interest. There is no longer the passion that existed in the hearts of the people only a year ago. This is terrible. It is surely not good to have interethnic relations in conflict and imprisoned in prejudices, but now a completely different thing is going on. Prejudices have not been overcome, but it is possible that someone might think that interethnic relations have improved. What is going on is terrible because people are secluded, they are isolated from each other. Life is going on in two worlds that are essentially different. There can be no worse interethnic relations than they are now, although the way they are, they reduce the chance of conflicts."

This is just a part of the thoughts of a cultural worker in Tetovo who for three decades has been analyzing the relations in the town. The meetings and the rare discussions with Albanians of his own profession represent nothing but an empty form whose "dimensions are being reduced as with an aging person."

"There have been bad and difficult times. Wars and showdowns. However, even at such times life was not fully parallel. There were links that connected the people—neighborhood, friendship, labor. Today there is a

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common spirit only in some state institutions and companies, because it has to be that way. The links are becoming weaker..."

This is what a retired teacher says who remembers when in "his" time the pupils played together and visited each other in the courtyards. Today children do not look at each other, they do not know each others' souls, the magic of playing marbles on the common street where the different songs and smells coming from the small houses mixed. The street is divided by a small meandering stream that is constantly enriched and goes who knows where. The only trouble is when the marble falls into it.

This is not simple the nostalgia of a teacher for a time that has been erased by the cobblestones, asphalt, and blocks. There are still such earthy little streets. What is missing are the colorful marbles and the chapped, frozen fingers of children who ask to stay out longer between the small houses and the meandering stream from where they persistently try to retrieve their marbles, wiping them on their trousers.

"It is nostalgia for past life in Tetovo. Although there have been "national" phobia, they used to be more natural because they more closely reflected the actual policy then. We were oppressed by the policy and we did not express the phobia that existed with us. The silent phobia was again an expression of the policy. Nevertheless, life was real and common. This is the true expression if we want to compare the situation today. Today, we are nothing but good actors that act in our own films without having properly assigned roles."

The man we spoke to passes his life in cultural activity, as a representative of the "majority" citizens. "My colleagues," he says, "on 'both sides of the line' still invite each other for visits, hoping that the other will not come. The others do the same. And they do not come. That is how they are disengaging the cultures and everybody is kept happy. Nobody 'peeps' into the 'other' culture. There is no wish to know it better."

"The phenomenon lies in the fact that in Tetovo we are all waiting for a change. Nevertheless, none of us wants to start it. It is as if we were expecting someone from the outside to liberate the life that used to exist. It existed in the houses, on the balconies, in the drinks and tea, in the cigarette smoke, in children's choruses, in football, in newborn babies....

Interethnic relations in Tetovo? The people of Tetovo awaited 17 December and they did not hide their fear. But they thought it was not real. They knew, deep in their hearts, that nothing was going to happen, because energy, at least the negative one, had evaporated.

Some say that Skopje is not interested in the problems and life of Tetovo. Perhaps of Gostivar and other places, too.

What is the truth? This is just another corner for analyzing inter-ethnic relations. Perhaps it is wrong, because only four people talked about it. Two citizens of Tetovo and two other citizens of Tetovo. In Tetovo there are many citizens and citizens. Do they all feel this nostalgia, are they all so pessimistic? They are people who do not blame anyone, just watch. They are looking for the shiny marbles of "their time."

Law on Defense: President's Authority is Symbolic
AU2812152194 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 21 Dec 94
 p 2

[Report by Vladimir Vodusek: "President Remains Symbolic Army Commander"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ljubljana, 20 December—According to the new defense law, the president—with the exception of a general constitutional provision—has no authority in the defense sphere and remains a symbolic commander of the armed forces. The Law on Defense passed by the parliament today is, as regards the president's authority, similar or worse than the first proposal put forward by the former defense minister at the beginning of 1993.

Article 43 of the Defense Law contains the constitutional provision that the president of the republic is the supreme commander of the Slovene Army, and goes on to state further that the defense minister, with the president's consent, works out in more detail the conditions and procedures in informing the supreme commander about the Army's combat readiness and other defense affairs important for the country's defense, the securing of accommodation, protection, protocol affairs, guards, and other prerequisites to perform the role of supreme commander in times of peace and war.

The Law on Defense was entered into parliamentary procedure at the beginning of 1993, when the Defense Ministry was still led by Janez Jansa. The proposal at that time already gave greater authorities to the government and the parliament. The president of the state remained the supreme commander, however, the minister merely informed him promptly about combat readiness and other affairs important for the country's defense (which are, after prior agreement with the president, approved by the minister). After two years of battling for command over the Army, the parliament practically passed a law almost identical to the original proposal (at least as regards the president's authorities, which have always been the most controversial).

According to the law, the general staff commander is appointed by the government with the consensus of the president. The approved law stipulates that the general staff commander is appointed by the government as proposed by the defense minister. According to the old Law on Defense and Protection, he was appointed on the proposal of the presidency, that is, the president. This is the period from which dates a dispute between Milan Kucan and Janez Jansa, as to who was authorized to issue the approval for the replacement of General Janez Slapar [general staff commander at the time].

At the end of 1993, the president sent a letter to the deputies in which he concluded that the command of the defense forces was not merely symbolic and that the law

must, in harmony with the constitutional provision, define the role and functions of the supreme commander. The president was of the opinion that the general staff commander should be accountable to the president of the republic; the president should also appoint the general staff commander. As proposed by the general staff commander, the president of the state would also approve the plan of combat readiness, mobilization, and use of the Slovene defense forces. The "presidential system" in the Army, which Milan Kucan proposed in his letter to the deputies, was very much criticized primarily by the defense minister of that time. He reproached Kucan, saying that with his demands he actually advocated the same kind of defense system as in the former Yugoslavia, which turned the defense ministry into the supreme commander's headquarters.

The Liberal Democrats and the United List at that time stood up against Jansa's concept of the law on defense and managed to secure the law being returned for repeated discussion in the government. The change at the head of the Defense Ministry evidently did not change a thing. The United List prepared appendices that it mostly took from the president's letter to the deputies. However, the United List was growing increasingly isolated during the voting in the parliamentary committee, and also in the State Chamber. It put forward proposals according to which the president would issue supreme orders, at the proposal of the general staff commander. The commander would be accountable to the president for the use of the Slovene Army and to the defense minister for state and work of the Army. According to the above proposals the president of the Republic would, at government's proposal, appoint general staff commander, who would in turn appoint brigade commanders.

Belgrade Journalist Complains of Obstruction

LD2812213594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2108
 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zrenjanin, Yugoslavia, Dec. 28 (TANJUG)—A Belgrade daily's correspondent in Ljubljana said Wednesday his home had been raided with the tacit approval of Slovenian authorities and police.

Slobodan Pasic, accredited correspondent for VECERNJE NOVOSTI, said that during his two years in Ljubljana he had been subjected to a series of unpleasant experiences.

In the night between Tuesday and Wednesday, a dozen armed operatives of the Slovenian private detective agency Bergman and Company Corp. broke into Pasic's rented apartment in Ljubljana. Slovenian police refused to act on the owner's appeal for intervention. Pasic is on leave in Zrenjanin, Yugoslavia, and says the reports he is receiving from Ljubljana are that the raiders are still at his flat.

The operatives claim they raided the flat because it was a nest of militant Serb nationalists and a centre of Yugoslav secret police mafia.

In comment, Pasic said this "speaks volumes about those who violate human rights and freedoms and, in the law-ruled Slovenian state, raid the home and premises of an accredited correspondent."

The raid on Pasic's home and earlier cases of obstruction of the work of correspondents have prompted the Yugoslav press correspondents based in Ljubljana to protest strongly with the Slovenian journalists' association and information department.

The Yugoslav correspondents in Slovenia also intend to write to the International Journalists' Association, the Council of Europe and the European Union.

Federal**FRY's Jovanovic Upbeat on Chances for Peace***LD2812173494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1716
GMT 28 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 28 (TANJUG)—If the national assembly of the Bosnian Serb republic accepted on Thursday the Contact Group's new proposal, the peace process in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina could accelerate, said Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs Vladislav Jovanovic.

Such a course could open real possibilities for establishing peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina quickly, assessed Jovanovic in an interview to a group of TANJUG reporters in Belgrade on Wednesday.

Jovanovic said that if the Bosnian Serb assembly accepted the proposal, international sanctions imposed on Yugoslavia could be lifted quite soon.

He pointed out that this could bring a radical change in the relations between Belgrade and Pale, administrative center of the Bosnian Serb republic.

The UN Security Council imposed comprehensive sanctions on Yugoslavia, a federation of Serbia and Montenegro, because of its alleged involvement in the Bosnian civil war.

Yugoslavia cut all political and economic links with the Bosnian Serb republic in August 1994, when the leadership in Pale had refused to accept parts of the 'Contact-Group' plan, assessing it as unjust.

It is of extreme importance that Pale had accepted a four-month ceasefire in Bosnia-Herzegovina, mediated by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, and the Contact Group proposals. Any other decision could have adversely affected Yugoslavia's requests for lifting of the sanctions.

Jovanovic said that there had been a favorable change in the international community's stand toward Yugoslavia.

In solving the Bosnian conflict the world had started taking into consideration the equality, constituent status and consensus of all three nations in Bosnia on which Belgrade had persisted since the beginning of the Yugoslav crisis, said Jovanovic.

Jovanovic said that peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina could be expected next spring.

He did not rule out the difficulties in achieving peace, due to colliding foreign interests, in which some of them would like the Bosnian conflict to continue.

However, peace had more chances than war, said Jovanovic in his interview to TANJUG reporters.

Lilic Says 1994 'Exceptionally Important'*AU2812192194 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in
Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Dec 94*

["Excerpt" from interview with President Zoran Lilic by Dusan Djordjevic, editor in chief of Belgrade Radio's First Program; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Lilic] Regarding 1994, I think that this has indeed been an exceptionally important year in the life of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], in the life of all our citizens. One should certainly say that we are at the end of a year in which, after the situation of general poverty in the year before, we managed, in the face of a great many difficulties, to create the conditions for solving the crisis in the country and returning hope to the people and, if I may say so, returning their dignity. What happened during the time of hyperinflation last year, which is not all that distant, warns us that we should not allow this to ever return.

One should also say that the greatest result of this year, a result that we must not lose at any cost, is probably the fact that peace has been preserved. This is the greatest thing that we have managed to secure this year. The fact that the end of the war conflicts in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina is in sight is also pleasing. The talks between the republic of Serbian Krajina and the Republic of Croatia have also begun. All these are things that instill both hope and optimism that we are entering a qualitatively better year, thanks mainly to the activities that we have been involved in this year.

I think that the realization of the interests and goals of the Serbian people who live in those regions is closer than ever before and that we must persevere on that path. (In this interview) we mentioned that the international community has finally acknowledged the consistent peace-loving policy of our country. This is also a fact to which we should indeed attach certain importance and certain weight when we review the order or the importance of events in 1994.

Regardless of the fact that we are still facing great difficulties owing to the exceptionally unfavorable external and internal circumstances, I think that we have successfully, and I would want to stress this in particular since we spoke about the quality of the program, I think that we have successfully realized the policy of economic stabilization.

In addition to the probably most important fact—that we have preserved peace in this region—this is certainly the most important victory of the official policy, and, I would like to repeat it again, of all the citizens of the FRY; namely that we have managed to implement the program of economic, allow me to use the term, stabilization. We had many programs in the past. I think that none of them were carried through because we did not enjoy the absolute support of the people, they did not have an absolute consensus among politicians, they did not have the absolute consensus of the government that

should naturally be directly involved in the realization of that program, as should the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

The latest program has had all this and I think that this must certainly be one of the main reasons for its implementation. It also had an enthusiast such as Professor Avramovic [governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia]. We all owe him very much.

When recalling the beginning of the year, which was characterized by general depression, hopelessness, an inflation of several hundred million percent, empty stores, and everything else, I think that we should indeed be satisfied, despite all the difficulties that we have had and still have. We can be satisfied with what we have done and achieved in 1994.

One must say that life is not easy today either. Many workers are still out of work, (?removed) from the work process. Most of the sanctions are still in effect, but we have a year in front of us in which I expect with open optimism everything that I mentioned in the previous sentence to simply disappear. I expect the sanctions will be lifted, as there are indeed no reasons for them to exist any longer. This will certainly offer us opportunities and create conditions. I will repeat my sentence, with much more work and much more will and with the knowledge that we have, that will enable our factories to work, our agriculture to flourish, and all our energy (?resources) to function, and all this to contribute to the stability, the economic development of the FRY.

If this happens, if we become economically strong, then we will certainly be a significant factor of stability in the Balkans and, I am convinced, much further afield. We had a brilliant definition the other day: The FRY is indeed the only serious state that has survived in this region following the disintegration, not disintegration, but the breakup and dismembering of the former Yugoslavia.

If this is the case, by the very act of lifting the sanctions, the European and world community will make a direct contribution to peace in this region. For our part, we will make our contribution to the stability of the Balkan region through our own strengthening and through the creation of better living conditions for our citizens.

I think that this is the only correct path for us to pursue. It is indisputable that we have to live in good neighborly relations with all our neighbors, including the newly created republics on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, which, whatever they may be like, are our neighbors. We must take this fact into account.

I think that there is no other way than through cooperation among people. There is no other way than through joint cooperation, above all, in promoting the interests that will lead to prosperity in their states, as well as our own state. There is certainly no reason not to recognize all these states of the former Yugoslavia at the end of the

peace conference, or the international conference on Yugoslavia, which has been accepted by the international community, and to establish all other relations with them, including relations at the inter-state level, but only after the conditions for this have indeed been created; when the political negotiations have ended.

I think that the year ahead offers conditions that will make it possible to solve everything that has not been solved this year. I think that the realization of all these, if I may say so, outstanding difficult issues in many ways depends primarily on the leaderships of the FRY and all other protagonists taking part in the peace process and all the other processes that are taking place in this turbulent Balkan region.

What should be stressed as a fact is that there is not only goodwill, but enormous interest among our neighbors to raise cooperation to a significantly higher level as this is in their own interests. Therefore, when we evaluate relations with other states, we will primarily have to consider our interests. This is something that we perhaps did not know how to put on the right footing, but what we have been through in the last three or four years has taught us to primarily look after the interests of our own people and the interests of our citizens. If this so, no one should reproach us if we continue to do this more in the future and with more responsibility. After all, this is an obligation of all of us.

[Djordjevic] Mr. President, thank you very much for this interview. Allow me to wish you, on behalf of my aides, the listeners of Belgrade Radio, and myself, a happy new year, much success in your job, personal happiness, and good health.

[Lilic] Thank you. You should also allow me to use this opportunity to wish you and all those employed at Belgrade Radio, at the Radio and Television of Serbia—considering that I have used this opportunity to give such an interview—a new year and to wish you, above all, personal happiness and good health.

I would also like to use this interview to send another greeting that I think is necessary in the time that we live, namely to wish all the citizens of the FRY that the coming year will be, above all, a year of peace, that the year in front of us will be a year in which we will all return to our daily jobs, everyone to return to his own job, and that everyone has as much (?will) and work as possible in their own interests and the interest of our common country. I think there are no more urgent goals than to live in a happy, peaceful, and rich Yugoslavia. With this wish, I indeed wish that we all say goodbye to this year and all the nice things that have happened to us, things that should instill optimism and strength to persevere in the period ahead. I wish that 1995 will indeed be a year in which not only the war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and the former Yugoslavia will stop, but in which the efforts of the powerful and big to solve everything in their interests through wars and sanctions that they were not able to solve will cease to exist.

I think that there is no better wish than the fact that we need to live in peace, that we need cooperation between one another, and that Yugoslavia should return to the institutions in the international community to which it belongs, to those institutions that it should have not left in the first place.

In other words, I wish to all our citizens a happy, healthy, and successful new year.

Thank you very much.

More From Interview

AU2912093294 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 28 Dec 94

["Excerpt" from interview with President Zoran Lilic by Dusan Djordjevic, editor in chief of Belgrade Radio's First Program; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Lilic] I think that we can look at the period ahead of us with optimism simply because the position of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] in the world has significantly improved recently, and this trend is continuing. Of course, this is primarily the result of, if I may use the term, the penetration of the truth about what really happened on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and the policy that the leaderships of the Republic of Serbia and Montenegro, that is, the leadership of the FRY have been and still are conducting.

I think we can be satisfied that this is so, and that the recent events, especially of the last week, which we can call the epicenter of European diplomacy in this region, have indeed shown that we can expect better times. The fact that can illustrate this is that in the past 11 months we have held over 100 various meetings at high or the highest level with official representatives of other countries and governments here in our country or abroad.

What is also important is, I think, the fact that we have had more and more opportunities to speak in international institutions, where we have unfortunately virtually been banned from entering in the period behind us, and that we had the opportunity, as you saw in President Milosevic's latest interview with CNN, to present our views on such an important medium. This is particularly important. I think that the attempts—I can still call them attempts—by the international community to treat equally all three warring sides in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, to take into consideration the FRY's views, are significantly contributing to our better treatment in the international community.

I think that the policy that Yugoslavia has continuously been conducting, something we have already spoken about, the policy that primarily strives for the settlement of all crises in the world in the way appropriate for the civilized world—that is, through dialogue, negotiations, and solving problems without war conflicts and casualties—I think that this policy logically renders our role

even more important when it comes to the conflicts in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. What we have continuously been striving for is to support every peace action in that region. This is illustrated by the fact that the FRY has practically supported all five, if I may use the term, peace plans of the international community, ranging from the Cutilheiro plan in 1992 to the latest plan of the Contact Group.

Unfortunately, owing to the policy that had been conducted, owing to the policy of double standards, owing to the policy of favoring one or two sides in the conflict in relation to the third side, usually in relation to the Serbian side, the peace efforts have not succeeded. However, one should certainly stress that the latest events, including Mr. Carter's visit to Pale, Sarajevo, and Belgrade, and including all initiatives that have been launched—why should these not be stressed, even if they bothers some people—I think that it should clearly and loudly be stated that all the initiatives that came from President Milosevic and all the talks that he has held in the last month or two, especially in the past week, indeed instill optimism and show the real role of both the Republic of Serbia and the FRY, and all of us who are in the position not only to work on it, but have the obligation to help find a peaceful solution and to stop all conflicts. [passage omitted]

Savovic: UNHRC's Report on Human Rights

LD2712211494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1923 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 27 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Minister Margit Savovic on Tuesday said the latest report by U.N. Human Rights Commission's Special Rapporteur Tadeusz Mazowiecki was biased and ill-intentioned.

Margit Savovic said the report was aimed at maintaining the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

She told a press conference that the Yugoslav Government in a letter to the U.N. secretary-general said that parts of Mazowiecki's report on human rights in Yugoslavia were not authentic and reflected his neglect of Yugoslavia's Constitution and its positive legislation.

Mazowiecki accused Yugoslavia of violating human rights in the southern Serbian Province of Kosovo and Metohija and in the southwestern Serbian region of Raska (known also by its Turkish name of Sandzak) by arresting more than 100 Muslims and ethnic Albanians.

Margit Savovic said that the arrested were preparing a war of secession from Yugoslavia and that Yugoslavia was only trying to thwart the activities of terrorist organizations, arrest the perpetrators of heavy crimes and take other measures aimed at maintaining order and peace.

She said these measures were aimed at preventing the scenario applied in Bosnia-Herzegovina from repeating in the territories of the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro.

"The basic human rights of all citizens, primarily the right to live, have been protected in this way and the spilling of military operations onto the Yugoslav territory has been averted," Margit Savovic said.

She said the Yugoslav Government would reconsider Mazowiecki's call for international monitors to be allowed to continue their mission in the Yugoslav territory when international organizations which had sent the monitors changed their stand regarding Yugoslavia.

She said the international organizations should accept Yugoslavia as a full member again and ensure its unhindered work in their bodies.

The Yugoslav Government has sent a number of letters to U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, saying that Yugoslavia was fully respecting human rights in its territory.

The ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija, where a strong separatist movement has been active since 1981, are given all rights guaranteed by international laws, including education, media in their mother tongue and participation in the country's political life.

A number of ethnic Albanians, influenced by separatist leaders, who advocate secession of the province from Serbia and its merger with Albania, refuse to enjoy these rights, and their refusal has been abused in a media campaign against Yugoslavia.

Rights to National Minorities

LD2712213394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1956
GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 27 (TANJUG)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia guarantees all rights to national minorities, Yugoslav Minister Margit Savovic said on Tuesday.

She said that the rights were warranted in accordance to the highest international standards to ethnic Albanians in the region of Kosovo and Metohija (Kosmet) in the south and to other national minorities.

In her talks here with a delegation of the Albanian Republican Alternative (ARA), Margit Savovic pointed out that the minority could not be privileged just because it was large in number, said the Yugoslav Information Ministry in a statement.

ARA is a non-parliamentary party particularly influential in northern Albania.

The ARA delegation, on a two-day visit to Yugoslavia, has expressed their respect to the Serbian nation and Yugoslavia. Their approach to the Kosovo problem was very constructive, said the statement.

A strong secessionist movement of ethnic Albanians has been very active in Kosovo and Metohija in the past ten years.

The movement supports a secession of Kosovo from Serbia and Yugoslavia, and its merger with Albania.

The ARA delegation, led by party President Semsedin Memi, was received on Tuesday by Yugoslav Acting Deputy Foreign Minister Ambassador Zivadin Jovanovic, said the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry.

Government Session Discusses Economy, Uzbekistan

LD2812131794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1213 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—The Federal Government at today's session chaired by Prime Minister Dr. Radoje Kontic approved a decision on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] and the Republic of Uzbekistan at the ambassadorial level, the Federal Secretariat for Information has announced. [passage omitted]

The decision to allow preferential import duties on specific products from developing countries was annulled. The government deemed that UN Security Council sanctions have put our economy in a very difficult position and that the FRY is not in a position to allow favorable import duties on goods from developing countries while sanctions are in place.

In keeping with the new organization of federal authorities and bodies, the federal government appointed members of the Committee for Gathering Data on Crimes Against Humanity and International Law. The chairman of the committee is Professor Zoran Stojanovic; his deputy is Djordje Ignjatovic, a professor at Belgrade's Faculty of Law. [passage omitted]

No-Confidence Vote Over BORBA Affair

LD2812224694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2228
GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 28 (TANJUG)—A group of 36 opposition deputies to the Yugoslav parliament moved Wednesday for a vote of no confidence in the government.

The motion was prompted by alleged constitutional violations in the case of the takeover of the BORBA daily and publishing house.

Meanwhile, an economic court in Belgrade said Wednesday it had instituted legal proceedings for the liquidation of the BORBA joint-stock company.

The Chamber of Citizens (lower house) opposition deputies said the government had encroached on parliament's jurisdiction in appointing Yugoslav Information Secretary Dragutin Bracin as acting director of BORBA.

The Independent Journalists' Association of Serbia decided at its emergency session Wednesday to send a delegation to Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic in this connection.

The association said it would continue to support BORBA's ousted editorial staff and asked that Brzin and Serbia's Information Minister Ratomir Vico be replaced for their involvement in the affair.

On Dec. 19, a higher economic court confirmed a court ruling refusing BORBA's registration as a joint-stock company because of illegalities in the ownership transformation.

On Dec. 23, the Yugoslav government appointed Dragutin Brzin acting editor-in-chief of the BORBA daily and acting director of the BORBA publishing house.

The BORBA daily was founded in 1922, and became a joint-stock company in 1991, with 17 percent of the stock owned by the state.

Since the takeover, both the new and the old managements have been issuing parallel editions of BORBA, with the old management vowing to continue to publish the daily until receiving a court order striking BORBA from the register.

Serbia

Milosevic: Favors Lasting Peace in Region

LD2812182794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1753
GMT 28 Dec 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 28 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and its citizens will continue investing efforts toward lasting and stable peace in the region, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic said Wednesday.

A republican president office statement quoted Milosevic as telling a New Democracy Party delegation that Yugoslavia and its citizens would also make efforts aimed at the country's speedy economic recovery and development.

The New Democracy Party delegation was headed by Party President Dusan Mihajlovic. The New Democracy is the minority coalition partner of the Socialist Party of Serbia in the republican government. Serbia and Montenegro make up Yugoslavia.

The statement said Milosevic received new year's felicitations from the delegation that said the experience gained in 1994 reaffirmed that the party was right when it decided to join a government of national unity.

The delegation said the government of national unity had achieved salient results in the implementation of Yugoslavia's economic recovery program, creating conditions for Serbia's further successful economic and cultural development.

The New Democracy has six out of the 250 seats in the Serbian legislature.

More Protests Against Power Cuts in Belgrade

AU2912093394 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 24 Dec 94 p 10

[Report by T.V.M. & M.D.: "Public Transportation Lines Determined According to Electricity Cuts"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The protests by the residents of Belgrade against power cuts and the irresponsible behavior of the Electricity Distribution Board continued yesterday. The angry residents of Jajinci, Dorcol, and Mirijevo took to the streets. They erected barricades on the crossroads and blocked traffic.

"Shame on them," "How long do they think they can mistreat us," "Will anyone put a stop to their arrogance," "Some of them should really pay for all this," these were the comments that were frequently heard against the Electricity Distribution Board among the citizens gathered in the streets.

The Avala Road found itself blocked at dawn. Disgusted with the fact that they had not had electricity for more than 30 hours, the residents of Jajinci took to the streets the night before last and blocked the road. The traffic was, of course, stopped, and the city buses running on lines 401, 402, 403, 404, and 408 had to be diverted.

A similar situation existed in Dusanova Street. The angry residents of Dorcol blocked the street with trash containers. The traffic was paralyzed. The streetcars running on lines 2, 5, and 10, and the buses running on line 24 were completely halted. The people who use these lines had to walk to the city center. Dusanova Street was cleared at about 1630 following a firm "promise" by the residents of Dorcol that they would again stop traffic if the situation regarding the power supply did not normalize.

"Shame on them," said Nikola Matic from Zmaj Jovina Street. "They have mistreated us for days. Their insolent behavior has gone over the top and some of them should be called to account for all this."

In Mirijevo, the situation was the same. At the corner of Jovanka Radakovic, Vitezovi Karadjordjeve Zvezde, and Mirjevski Venac streets containers and car tires were set on fire. Several hundred frozen citizens were gathered around them. The traffic was completely blocked.

"We have gathered here to express our dissatisfaction with the Electricity Distribution Board," said Djordje Djordjevic, head of the Novo Mirijevo local commune.

"We have not had electricity for three days. If the situation with the electricity does not improve by Monday, we will organize ourselves through the local commune and again take to the streets."

Montenegro

Milosevic's View of Planned Confederation

AU2612154294 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 23 Dec 94 p 13

[Miodrag Vukmanovic commentary: "Moussaka Federation"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] Eclipsed by the most recent diplomatic missions concerning Bosnia, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic revived his initiative of forming a Balkan confederation during talks with Greek Socialist Prime Minister Papandreu. According to newspaper reports, Milosevic's host in Athens did not express much interest. The idea was met with a similar reception by the so-called Serbian friend, now leader of the opposition, Mitsotakis. Of course, some support has been received from leftist and rightist extremists who are appearing under the motto "Give Balkans to Balkan communists." However, it would be interesting to point out Milosevic's motives for renewing an initiative about a Balkan union at the moment, bearing in mind the realistic position and international credibility of the country he is reigning over. The offer's legality is even more interesting or, to put it better, more problematic. And, as regards the psychological background and the contents of this political act, one can hardly mention them without being cynical.

From the very beginning of the Yugoslav crisis, many people have considered Milosevic to be the destroyer of Yugoslavia and the star of Serbian state nationalism. I consider those to be rather superficial and appropriate exclusively from the point of view of the consequences produced by the policy that Milosevic presents. However, it was not his intention to break up Yugoslavia. His dry political and legal rhetoric, full of ideological clichés, never included chauvinist charges and insults against other peoples, something typical of Serbian nationalists. In this sense, Milosevic remained a communist aesthete. Therefore, at first, Milosevic's intention was not to destroy Yugoslavia, but to be a Serbian Tito and thus stop its far-gone decentralization, that is, democratization, and return it to a totalitarian idyll. In doing so, he relied on ossified bureaucratic institutions and armed forces who were following him and still are following him according to an ideological reflex. They have been following him or he has been following them, it does not matter. At the signal of the special services, this campaign for bureaucratic restoration was joined by covert and primitive Serbian nationalist forces with a view to taking advantage of the ensuing confusion. Their cooperation with the institutions of the system resulted in absurd expansionist ideas and national programs scientifically based on a tasteless mixture of Serbian communist palace historiographies. This worked as long as the borders of Serboslovakia were still in the expansionist stage. The moment one started sobering up after the drunken hegemonist dream—a bloody reality in fact—Milosevic started replacing his lost illusions with some pretentious initiatives.

Belgrade did not find any common language with peoples speaking the same or very similar languages—albeit with the right to call those languages by their national names—peoples with whom it shares a 70-year tradition of some kind of life in a common state, peoples with whom the Serbs have lasting cultural and historical ties

and other forms of linkage, and it wants a (con)federation with Greece, Bulgaria, and Romania. In such a union, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] would probably enjoy the status of a "protected zone." All the main civilizational values that these countries possess are closer to West Europe than to Serbia.

However, Milosevic and comrades do not want to go to Europe as there is capitalism there. Serbian, Montenegrin, or any other talents have a market price there. He particularly does not want to go there via Croatia and Slovenia, who betrayed his post-Titoist unitarian fantasy. The integration heralded by Milosevic's initiative would be a completely new historical type. It could, perhaps, be called "emotional federation" or "confederation out of spite." According to an Athens newspaper, the capital city of that federation of Balkan peoples would be Athens. From a cultural standpoint, this would be all right, particularly considering Milosevic's efforts to keep dynasts far away from Belgrade. Greek as an official language, something that this initiative apparently also includes, would be more difficult. The knowledge that every Serb with any self-respect will soon be reading the *Odyssey* in the original makes the problem easier to solve. Only the clause that the first president of the Balkan federation should be Greek does not seem easy to implement considering the Serbian president's ambitions. Perhaps the federation will function according to the Montenegrin system? As for the final name for this new integration, it has long been known in the scientific circles as a spiritual category: "Byzantium in the wake of Byzantium."

After freeing this whole story about Balkan union from all humorist ingredients, one can certainly assume that the Serbian president's initiative is to push Serbia into some European integration subsystems through a back door, that is, via Greece which is a European Union member. Milosevic is aware of the fact that Serbia, which is still isolated, tarnished with the guilt for the war, would have to wait a long time at the European admittance window. However, the problem is that European integrations and leftist internationalism of the Russian Academician Mirjana Markovic [Slobodan Milosevic's wife] are not the same thing.

Even if only one tenth of the story about Milosevic's initiative on Balkan (con)federation is true, some important questions are raised anew, such as: According to what authority can the president of one federal unit represent the entire state? Who is heading the foreign policy of the so-called FRY? Can one make initiatives for a change in the setup of the state without the consent of constitutionally authorized bodies? Do Montenegrin authorities bear any responsibility in that respect?

Perhaps one day we will be given the replies to these questions in Greek?

Sandzak Muslims Receive Prison Sentences

LD2812184894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1702 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bijelo Polje, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—The Judicial Council of the Bijelo Polje High Court, presided over by Radosav Konatar, today sentenced a group of leaders and members of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] to terms of imprisonment for preparing the violent and unconstitutional secession of parts of the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], and the creation of a so-called state of the Sandzak.

Harun Hadzic, SDA president in Montenegro, was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment, SDA Secretary Rasim Sahman received four years and six months, Erdzan Fetakovic received five years and six months, Omer Omerovic received four years, Mevludin Kasumovic three and a half years, and Rifat Veskovik six years. [passage omitted]

The court found them guilty because between April 1991 and January 1994, in Rozaje, Berane, Bijelo Polje, Pljevlja, and other places, with the intention of using force and unconstitutionally carving up part of the FRY territory and creating the so-called state of the Sandzak—which would have consisted of the municipalities of Plav, Rozaje, Berane, Bijelo Polje, Pljevlja, Novi Pazar, Sjenica, Tutin, Prijepolje, Nova Varos, and Priboj—they committed a criminal act contravening Article 116, Paragraph 1 of the FRY Penal Code.

According to the verdict, they constructed a "constitution" as the highest legal act of "the projected Sandzak state," adopted a "statute" and a "decision" on the formation of a so-called Muslim National Council, and a "declaration and memorandum" on the setting up of "a special status for the Sandzak."

Implementing the decisions contained in these documents, and orders, Sulejman Ugljanin, the SDA chairman in the Sandzak, in accordance with a scheme prepared in advance, formed "ministerial departments as parallel authorities" in this territory, including a "ministerial department for security" to which "commanders" were appointed.

The verdict stresses that they formed "military units and combat headquarters," and armed members of these paramilitary units. They organized the dispatch of a large number of Muslims to the Turkish Army for training and the preparation of "experts and an army of the future so-called Sandzak state."

To this end they obtained large quantities of armaments, ammunition, and explosives. [passage omitted]

Hadzic, Fetakovic, Veskovik, Skenderovic, Brkovic, Muratovic, and Burnazovic are to remain in prison until the verdict takes legal effect.

The other accused—those sentenced to prison terms of less than five years—will conduct their defense for the rest of the trial while at liberty.

Kosovo**Albanian National Front Leaders Sentenced**

AU2812121394 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 18 Dec 94 p 11

[FBIS Translated Text] The verdicts have been declared in the trial of the Leaders of the National Front at the Serbian District Court of Peje [Pec]. The bench of three judges headed by Dragoljub Zdravkovic declared the five leaders of this party to be guilty, and sentenced them to a total of 21 and one-half years in prison. According to the verdicts, which were announced in the name of the people, "the defendants were convicted of two crimes under Articles 136 and 116 of the Penal Code of the self-styled FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]."

Party Chairman Naser Husaj was sentenced to five years' imprisonment. Muhamet Gashi and Nimon Mulliqi were each sentenced to four and one-half years; Hamdi Norina was sentenced to three and one-half years; Agim Curri to two and one-half years; and Rustem Gjellaj to one year and one-half. Except for Naser Husaj, all the defendants had been released from custody and conducted their defenses while out of detention.

During the two sessions on 14 and 15 December, a great deal was said about the foundation of the party, its membership, its meetings, and its leaders' contacts with diplomats of the embassies of Austria, France, Germany, Hungary, Switzerland, and the United States, and with the CSCE's envoys in Peje. In his concluding speech, the defendant Naser Husaj said that this party had acted legally, like all the other political parties. Serbian propaganda has persisted in calling the National Front a "quisling" party. There was no evidence for this "crime." The charges have not only included slanders and lies, but were ridiculous and open to dispute. Nimon Mulliqi and Rustem Gjellaj, the former from Peje and the latter from the village of Raushiq, stated that this Peje-based party had acted within the law. The defendants' contacts with Pjeter Arbnori, chairman of the People's Assembly of the Republic of Albania; with [word indistinct] Kazazi, the former political prisoner; and with [words indistinct] were also mentioned at the trial.

Naser Husaj's defense lawyer Milivoje Djuricic said that these people were brought before the court because of the name of their party, which was portrayed as dangerous. He said that this party had acted within the law.

The defense lawyer Ferid Gjickolli added that the accused would not have been brought to trial if they had given the party a different name. The lawyer Adem Bajri said that the National Front had called on the United Nations to prevent Serbia and Montenegro from causing a blood-bath in Kosova in the event of war.

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